THE BRENNAN APPOINTMENT **B. J. WIDICK**

THE NATION

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SECOND-TERM SURVEILLANCE

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Problems Without Issues

A 'Critical' Election Misfires

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***Stanley Karnow*: Mao and China**

Bert Cochran

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LETTERS

outline on request

DEAR SIRS: This semester a new course entitled "The War Economy" is being offered at Columbia University. Teachers or researchers interested in these materials may have a copy of the course outline and bibliography by writing to me at: Industrial Engineering, 304 S.W. Mudd, Columbia University, New York City 10027. *Seymour Melman*

Harrington's resignation

DEAR SIRS: The editorial in the November 6th *Nation* attacks the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation in a way that seems a regression to the theory that Social Democrats are "Social Fascists" which was once prominent in some now discredited sections of the Left. You use Michael Harrington's statement of resignation as a co-chairman of our organization as an excuse to grind some old political axes that *The Nation* should have disregarded —and some thought did—decades ago. . . .

Your editorial accuses the SP-DSF of being "morbidly" anti-Communist, in suffering from "die-hard paranoia" on the cold war, and of being "slavish" in "adherence to George Meany" because we "have been directly or indirectly on Meany's payroll for years," among other fallacious charges. Harrington, of course, made no such accusations in his statement. . . . We do want to state some things for the record:

(*1*) The SP-DSF gets no funds from George Meany. It does get contributions from time to time from some AFL-CIO-affiliated unions and from other international and local trade unions, the large majority of which come from unions whose leaders and/or members have Socialist backgrounds, and many of which, by the way, supported George McGovern for President. We do not see anything wrong in principle with Socialist organizations and publications receiving contributions from the AFL-CIO. . . .

(*2*) Similarly, it is also not accurate that the Socialist Party's "influence has been one of the prime reasons why labor has consistently supported the cold war. . . ." The democratically elected leadership of the AFL-CIO are fully capable of coming to and expressing their own views on foreign policy, especially as they relate to their hostility to totalitarian communism (most of which I believe are sound). Else what would be the hope for democratic socialism in the working class and the nation? If this were not so, socialism would remain the dream or nightmare of radical and, often, authoritarian elites.

(*3*) I find the charge that the SP-DSF leaders were "cold warriors before there was a cold war" both humorous and ironic. Humorous to those who remember that American conservatives typed Socialists and Communists as "premature anti-Fascists." And ironic because had Khrushchev and publications like *The Nation* only been more premature in becoming aware of the horrors of Stalinism, many more people might have been saved from it.

(*4*) Typical of your analysis of the 1972 elections and your criticisms of ours is the comment in the same editorial that Meany's neutrality in the Presidential race "has crippled labor's effort in this campaign for a liberal Congress," which you bolster with a quote from *The Wall Street Journal* of October 24 to that effect. In light of the election results, which appear on balance to have produced a slightly more liberal Congress than this session's, it is obvious that you must know more about American capitalism than you do about the American working class and its institutions. It is the trade union movement and not the political wizards of *The Wall Street Journal* or *The Nation* which significantly helped elect liberals to Congress despite the Nixon landslide.

(*5*) In rallying to Harrington's support in the way you

(Continued on page 628)

EDITORIALS

The Carpet Bags of Saigon

No doubt some kind of simulated cease-fire will be patched up in Vietnam, and probably before the end of the year; failure to achieve anything would be too embarrassing for the Administration. It will be a military stand-still without a political foundation or, in proper bureaucratese, infrastructure. So it is quite natural that, in an adaptation of Clausewitz's famous saying, it will be war carried on by other means. A recent report from Saigon by George McArthur, headlined in the *Los Angeles Times*: "Vietnam Future: U. S. Planners Thinking Big," gives a printout of the future.

McArthur leads off his dispatch with the not very surprising news that, while the negotiations proceed by fits and starts in Paris, U. S. bureaucrats in Saigon "are confidently using the time to blue-print empires in South Vietnam." Some of them have acquired villas there; they find the climate congenial, and would like to stay on, enjoying the good life to which they have grown accustomed. It is impossible to get any accurate estimate of how many U. S. civilians are hanging out in South Vietnam with some kind of official connection with the American Embassy, or the armed forces, or intelligence, or whatever else in the way of "programs" may be under way. And if that is impossible, how can anyone estimate what number of bodies will be required to carry on a simulated peace? The only thing certain is that proliferation is under way; the bureaucrats are "thinking big." "No single person or headquarters," writes McArthur, "seems to be running the show. Things are just growing, strangely enough, in a somewhat microscopic replay of the great buildup of 1965." Of course, microscopic can turn into macroscopic. The planners, at first stunned by Kissinger's forecast that "peace" was close at hand, are regaining their vigor and redoubling their efforts. They intend to stay on.

Clothes may not make the man, but they can make him look different, and by all indications such transformations will be taking place on a large scale. It takes only a few minutes and some pieces of paper to change a colonel in uniform into a civilian bureaucrat in colorful sport shirt and slacks. Or he may be nominally a civilian already, a Central Intelligence Agency type, striving to win the hearts and minds of the people. In addition to CIA, AID, CORDS and other organizations whose full names are rarely used, the United States now has four consulates in South Vietnam. McArthur predicts that these peace-loving offices, complete with military attachés, State Department political officers, CIA operatives, et al., will be installed permanently at Can Tho, Nha Trang, Bien Hoa and Da Nang—"by coincidence" the present locations of headquarters for the four Army corps of the million-man South Vietnamese Army. Four consulates may be thought a reasonable number, since in France, with 50 million Frenchmen and hordes of U.S. tourists, we have five consulates in all.

There is also a legal side to this orgy of preparation for "peace"; it centers in Washington. Having had practically nothing to say about the start of the war, Con-

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gress may want to be in at the finish. Constitutionally, this is no simple matter. Since we do not recognize North Vietnam, except for the purposes of killing and bombing, an agreement with Hanoi would not be a treaty and the Senate would have nothing to say about it. But we do recognize South Vietnam, so if they sign, wouldn't that constitute a treaty? Some lawyers think so, but it is a safe bet that President Nixon will not. As Commander in Chief he can order a cease-fire at his pleasure.

Sen. J. William Fulbright thinks an agreement to end the war should be submitted to the Senate for its scrutiny. But the Senate wants a cease-fire and will doubtless be reluctant to appear to be meddling in the interminable negotiations. All the same, the time will come when the Senate must insist on a say. "I would assume," Senator Fulbright observes, "any agreement would involve obligations to spend several billions of dollars, a commitment that should be submitted to the Congress." And further, "with these secret agreements, we find so often that they have obligations on our treasury or to send troops abroad, so it seems only fair that Congress have a chance to examine them." If Congress hopes to maintain some degree of control over what happens in Vietnam after a cease-fire, it should note what is happening there now. The bureaucrats are "thinking big" and will no doubt set programs in motion without initial Congressional approval, and then, as in the past, gamble that they can induce the Senate and House to continue and even expand them. So the time for vigilance is now.

Saigon's Prisoners

"Each day the war continues, South Vietnamese patriots now in prison face execution and torture." In mid-October, Nguyen Thanh Kiem, chief of the legation in Hanoi of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (NLF), was discussing with us, four lawyers invited by the Hanoi Bar Association, the fate of political prisoners in South Vietnam. Kiem said further that the PRG, whose cadres have infiltrated all levels of the Saigon government, had come into possession of the text of a "liquidation" program issued by Saigon to prison officials. One passage was ominous: "to avoid difficulties in case of an eventual forced release of prisoners, in regard to those whom they do not succeed in redressing and gaining over, appropriate and easy measures are recommended." He paused. "You know what that means—shooting, secret disposal, massacre, poisoning." (Kiem spoke Vietnamese which was then translated into English.)

A few days later, we met in Paris with Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh, Foreign Minister of the PRG and its chief delegate at the Paris talks. Mme. Binh expressed her deepest anxiety over the fate of the political prisoners, and appealed to us to alert the American people to the ominous situation.

There are signs that the killing may already have begun. On October 30, *The New York Times* quoted Mme. Binh as saying, "Thieu is now embarked on an extermination policy with regard to the prisoners. Women and children are being tortured and killed in the Saigon jails. The United States is equally responsible, for Thieu is not capable of carrying out such a policy alone." In cor-

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roboration of Mme. Binh's assertion, the *Times* on August 13 had published reports that five political prisoners had already died from torture in prison. A subsequent report in that paper (November 2) quoted "Vietnamese Catholic sources in Paris" as saying that Le Cong Giau, a student leader, was on the point of death following torture in Saigon's Chi Hoa jail.

Mme. Binh had given us a folio of documents bearing on conditions in South Vietnamese prisons. One was the text of a letter (undated) addressed to U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim by Vo Nhu Lanh, president of the Association of Students of Van Hanh University, calling attention to widespread imprisonment of students and requesting a commission of inquiry of the Saigon administration, described as "*rangé parmi des régimes militaires dictatoriaux les plus barbares du monde entier.*" A footnote records that Vo Nhu Lanh was himself arrested on May 5 and detained at the Tan Hiep prison.

Estimates of the number of political prisoners in South Vietnam vary widely. Craig Whitney, a *Times* correspondent in Saigon, wrote recently (November 12) that "some estimates" in Saigon put the number at 40,000 to 60,000, while "the Communists claim they number 300,000." Kiem and Mme. Binh mentioned that there were more than 200,000.

The release date of political prisoners, as proposed in the current Paris negotiations, is not altogether clear. Hanoi's newspaper *Nhan Dan* asserted recently that the settlement must provide for the release of all civilian prisoners held in South Vietnam at the same time that military prisoners, including American POWs, are freed. That ran counter to statements by Dr. Kissinger that military prisoners were to be released first, the exchange of Vietnamese civilians held by both the Saigon regime and the PRG being negotiated afterward by the Vietnamese themselves.

Article 3, as broadcast by the North Vietnamese in a summary which Kissinger stated to be correct, is understood by the North Vietnamese to cover the release of *all* civilian and military prisoners held by the South, including political prisoners, as well as the release of U.S. and other foreign POWs held in both North and South Vietnam. While Article 3 calls for the release of all prisoners of "the parties" during the period when U.S. troops withdraw, North Vietnam's Deputy Minister Nguyen Minh Vy said in the October 30th *New York Times* that the military prisoners must be released within the *sixty*-day troop withdrawal period but political prisoners apparently only within a *ninety*-day period. These are North Vietnam's expectations.

On October 27, two days after our meetings with Mme. Binh and Mr. Vy, Cornell University Prof. George Kahin clarified the North Vietnamese position at a press conference immediately following his detailed discussions with Mr. Vy and Mme. Binh. He said, in fact:

> They [the PRG] are also upset to find what they had understood to be a release of all prisoners on both sides is now being interpreted by Mr. Kissinger as not covering the many thousands of political prisoners, NLF as well as third force, held in the prisons of Saigon. As Mme. Binh observed this afternoon in Paris with some evident bitterness, the United States has a responsibility to see to it that civilians, including political prisoners arrested during the war, are released along with American POWs. To set a double standard to the rules of prisoner release is fairly certain to hold up that process and is hardly consistent with the Presidential pledge to work for the earliest possible release of American POWs.

Each day that the signing of the settlement is deferred imperils the fate of the political prisoners. Mr. Nixon was ever wont to forecast a blood bath if the NLF's seven-point program were accepted. Why has he remained silent about Thieu's "liquidation" program? JOSEPH H. CROWN

Mr. Crown, co-chairman of the Lawyers Committee on American Policy Towards Vietnam, conferred with PRG and DRV leaders, including Premier Pham Van Dong, in Hanoi October 14 to 21, and in Paris with Mme. Binh and DRV's Deputy Minister Vy, October 23 to 25. The lawyers' delegation consisted of Mr. Crown and Malcolm Monroe, vice chairman of the Lawyers Committee, Prof. Lawrence Velvel, professor of constitutional law at Catholic University, Washington, D.C., and Rev. John Wells, sponsor of the Wells-Shea Act adopted by Massachusetts to test the constitutionality of the war.

Predictable Tragedy

The tragedy at Southern University (see p. 622) was predictable. Southern University is an all-black institution —students, faculty, administration—set up for the precise purpose of reinforcing segregation and thereby handicapping black students. It is under the direct control not of its own board of regents, as is the case with the predominantly white Louisiana State University, but of the all-white board of education which is responsible for elementary and secondary education in the state. Grambling and other predominantly black institutions of higher learning are also controlled by the same board. As might be expected, there are serious inequities in funding, with the predominantly black institutions receiving less per student than the predominantly white colleges and universities.

Newspaper accounts have emphasized the apparent powerlessness of the president and faculty of Southern in matters that directly affect the quality and character of education and the welfare of students. Inevitably, in such circumstances, the administrators of the predominantly black institutions must toady to the all-white board of education. James E. Cheek, president of Howard University, who served on the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, has this to say about the higher education of blacks in Louisiana in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* (December 4):

> In a situation, such as that which appears to surround Southern University, where black participation in governing the affairs of a predominantly black institution is neither desired nor accommodated and where black educators charged with administration and teaching are tyrannized, either overtly or covertly, by their white "superiors," one should expect an already angry, alienated and disaffected black youth to become more angry, alienated and more disaffected.

Add one factor—the danger implicit in any confrontation between black students and white police officers—and the likelihood of lethal violence becomes readily fore-

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seeable. Dr. Cheek feels that the black presence in American higher education must be preserved under black control and managment, "with adequate resources (financial, human and physical) comparable . . . to the resources available to institutions serving primarily white students." For the time being, he is right. But is it realistic to expect that predominantly black institutions will ever receive equal treatment from predominantly white majorities in state and federal legislative bodies? In the long run, the best assurance of equal treatment would seem to be to end segregation in higher learning.

Allende Strikes Back

"I am not a hypocrite," Salvador Allende declared while he was campaigning for the Presidency of Chile. He meant that he was a Socialist and, if elected, would socialize the economy, or at least make a start. He did, and got into more trouble than perhaps he expected. His difficulties may be partly of his own making, but at the very least they have been aggravated by his conflict with two great multinational corporations, Kennecott Copper and International Telephone & Telegraph. On his recent trip to the United States Allende did some counter-punching.

Even his enemies concede that Allende is at his best when the going gets rough. It has been very rough indeed, and by all indications will remain so for a while at least. His trip abroad, although scheduled before matters reached crisis proportions, is an attempt to avert a counterrevolution. The trip is overcrowded—by Chilean law the President may not leave the country for more than fourteen days—but it has been skillfully planned and, so far, well managed. His only purpose in coming to the United States was to arouse world opinion in favor of the peaceful revolution he has led. His forum was the U.N. and he scored a diplomatic triumph in his speech before the General Assembly. His address was forceful but notably civilized. He did not mention the United States by name, but accused American corporations, banking interests and government agencies of economic aggression against his country.

Chile is weak economically; that is what made a Socialist revolution possible. It needs help from the Soviet Union—the main reason for Allende's trip to Moscow—and from such U.S.-dominated agencies as the Export-Import Bank, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, the United States Agency for International Development and private banking interests in the United States. According to the newsletter *Latin America* (December 1), in August 1970 Chile could call on lines of credit totaling $219 million. In the seven years before copper nationalization in 1971, Chile obtained more than $1 billion in loans from such agencies as the World Bank—an average of more than $140 million a year. By August 1972 its total credit resources had dropped to about $32 million. On top of this credit squeeze, the drop in the price of copper has cost the country $187 million in the last two years.

These factors, Allende said in his U.N. speech, have severely limited importation of equipment, spare parts, food, medicine and other necessities. He ascribes Chile's current troubles to economic warfare, somewhat on the order (although he did not make the comparison) of the American boycott against Cuba. He described ITT and Kennecott Copper as corporations "not accountable to or regulated by any parliament or institution representing the collective interest," and accused them of a modern version of imperialism. From 1955 to 1970, he maintained, Kennecott Copper made an average annual profit of nearly 53 per cent on its investment.

For their part, the accused corporations complain that they have been expropriated. Kennecott argues that it has been a "responsible citizen" of Chile for more than fifty years and has made "substantial contributions to both the economic and social well-being of the Chilean people," while ITT contends that it has never interfered in the internal affairs of Chile and that it seeks only just compensation for the assets which the Chilean Government has acquired or may seek to acquire. It claims it has undergone nationalization in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Peru without clashes such as those it is now involved in with Allende's government.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of nationalization—often the conflicting claims are no more than a form of bargaining—the United States has suffered a diplomatic defeat through Allende's visit. Decent manners are never a liability and the Nixon Administration has been nothing short of boorish toward Allende who, though a Marxist and on an unofficial call, is nonetheless a visiting head of state. The contrast between Mexico's welcome and the treatment Allende received in our country is humiliating—not to Allende but to civilized Americans. In Mexico, according to *Newsweek* (December 11), Allende was subjected to "a dizzying round of wreath laying, banquets and speechmaking." President Luis Echeverría told him in his welcoming speech that the people of Mexico "are persuaded that you are vigorously and bravely leading your people in a battle for independence." Our Administration took no notice whatever of Allende, and in answering his General Assembly speech—after the ovation had died down—all George Bush could find to say was that foreign trade is not necessarily evil. Thus idiocy was added to incivility.

The Hiss File

The underlying premise of the Freedom of Information Act, which Congress adopted in 1966, is that the public is entitled to know what the government knows; perhaps not all it knows at any particular moment, but what it knows—with some exceptions—after a reasonable lapse of time. However, the Act has done little to stimulate the flow of information to the public. So on June 1, in response to many requests, President Nixon promised "to lift the veil of secrecy from needlessly classified documents" more than ten years old; he issued an order to that effect. Nevertheless, government officials continue to stall, raising pettifogging objections and directing inquirers into blind alleys. The patience of the scholars is now exhausted. As Lloyd C. Gardiner, chairman of the Department of History, Rutgers University, said recently: "For misdirection, subterfuge, and circumlocution there has been nothing like this bureau-

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cratic performance since the old-fashioned shell game."

With the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union, four historians have brought suit against government agencies to force the release of two files: "Operation Keelhaul," involving the forced repatriation after World War II of Russians and East Europeans, most of them prisoners of war; and the government's file in the case of Alger Hiss. The first action has been brought against Secretary of the Army Robert F. Froehlke (see p. 623) by Levi Dobriansky, Bertram D. Wolfe and Julius Epstein. The other action has been brought in the name of Allen Weinstein, professor of history and chairman of the American studies program at Smith College, against the FBI and the Department of Justice. It seeks to force the release of all FBI documents concerning the Alger Hiss-Whittaker Chambers investigation from 1933 through 1953, including copies of agents' reports, memoranda and correspondence bearing on the bureau's search for the famous Woodstock typewriter and similar items. Weinstein, who has written extensively about the Hiss case, has been seeking the release of this material, now more than twenty years old, since 1969.

Historians have an obvious and legitimate interest in the Hiss file, since the material in it might permit them to resolve certain issues that have been in dispute and hotly debated these many years. These matters are not trivial, but are invested with national interest and significance. And quite apart from that consideration is another reason why the file should now be made available. When Hiss was tried, the Jencks case had not been decided. In that later case the courts ruled that a defendant is entitled, as part of the "due process" guarantee, to inspect such material as reports of FBI agents and their interviews with government witnesses and possible wiretaps. Later, Congress adopted a statute which somewhat narrowed the application of the Jencks doctrine. As the law now stands, if a defendant requests such information, the trial judge goes over the material *in camera* and decides which portions of it are pertinent to his defense. If counsel for Hiss had been able to invoke this right, the jury might well have returned a different verdict. For example, the defense could have cleared up some quite puzzling aspects of the FBI's search for the Woodstock typewriter and it could also have compared what Chambers first said when interviewed by the bureau's agents with his testimony at the two trials. The Hiss case, which raised matters not of recent occurrence, might be cited as a textbook illustration of the need for safeguards of the kind which the Jencks rule established. Twenty years is a long time. It is difficult to imagine what if any objection can now be made to the release of the Hiss file. Scholars and journalists have a legitimate interest in its contents, and so does Alger Hiss.

THE BRENNAN APPOINTMENT

NIXON'S HARD-HAT STRATEGY

B. J. WIDICK

Mr. Widick, who teaches at Columbia University, spent fifteen years as a shop steward in an auto plant. His most recent book is Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence *(Quadrangle Books).*

Unlike Mr. Nixon's other Cabinet appointments, which look like a game of musical chairs, the appointment of Peter J. Brennan as Secretary of Labor introduces a new element to the Washington political scene. The President's action was not a gesture of tokenism, as was the case when Eisenhower chose Martin Durkin, president of the plumbers' union, as Secretary of Labor in 1952. Durkin enjoyed little political power, in or out of the union movement. As the dominant and well-established leader of the powerful building trades unions in New York, Brennan does not come to Washington as a potential janitor for the Administration. He is too smart and too powerful for anyone to try that attitude with him. Nor does he arrive as an office boy for George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO. He was not Meany's first choice; Brennan has an independent base, and it isn't George Meany.

Brennan's appointment is calculated to strengthen, as well as reward, the Republican wing of the AFL-CIO hierarchy—the boys who told Meany a long time ago that they weren't going to support any Democrat, let alone George McGovern. Political friction among top union leaders will be exacerbated by the Brennan upgrading. It is a triumph for the narrow parochial interests of the building trades.

Of course, Brennan has the public endorsement of Meany and of Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters' union, with both of whom his appointment was checked, and the acquiescence of other union leaders; but the only real enthusiasm comes from the building trades. The reasons are plain. Brennan's voice will now be even more influential in vital matters of government-financed apprentice programs, administration of the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin law as it pertains to the conduct of internal union affairs, and in all the manpower training programs, which during the first Nixon Administration totaled more than $70 million in contracts with unions.

No wonder Roy Wilkins and Herbert Hill of the NAACP were outraged by the appointment. Brennan defends the current apprentice programs involving blacks, while most of the black community feels otherwise. Controversial local plans are out, even though the Administration recently denied reports that the "Philadelphia Plan" was being scuttled.

Brennan's selection neatly side-stepped the national AFL-CIO headquarters. Meany was "consulted," but now

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there are three big labor leaders in Washington: Fitzsimmons, Meany and Brennan, and that gives Nixon the kind of elbow room for political maneuvering he has employed in the past to contain the trade unions. When George Meany broke with the Pay Board, he was joined in the walkout by Leonard Woodcock, of the independent Auto Workers Union, but Fitzsimmons stayed on. Even worse, when Meany asked the building trades to join in the protest against Nixon's incomes policy, they refused, remaining on the Construction Industry Stabilization Board, which had allowed them up to 16 per cent in raises while clamping the lid on other unions. Meany's "neutrality for Nixon" aided the building trades, but the consequences may have greater implications than Meany foresaw. Some of his colleagues are closer to Nixon than they are to him.

Secretary Brennan will have an important role in the conduct of union affairs, because of his responsibilities under the Landrum-Griffin Act. Imagine the plight of Frank Schoenfeld, the reformer in the New York Painters union, if he now tries to get help from the Department of Labor. Or, given the attitude of many AFL-CIO union leaders toward union democracy, how much confidence can the coal miners' dissidents or other rebels have in a department run by Brennan? And what union leaders will dare get tough with a Secretary of Labor who knows all the skeletons in the closet?

Behind the brave front many union leaders are displaying over the Brennan nomination, a revealing insight was contained in a *New York Times* dispatch of November 30. "An officer of one industrial union, who asked to remain anonymous, called the nomination a 'beautiful payoff to one of the worst elements in the labor movement.' " If that remark needs interpretation, it is available from the Conservative Sen. James Buckley of New York, who praises the appointment with the comment, "Hardhattism is what America needs at this moment."

President Nixon has the additional advantage of friction between Fitzsimmons and Meany, since Meany's low estimate of the Teamsters' union is on record. "Now that Hoffa is out of jail, I don't want anything to do with the Teamsters. He'll be running it; he may never go near there, because the parole board is watching him, but there's always the telephone. And Fitzsimmons? Fitzsimmons was never an elected member of the Executive Board of the Teamsters, or anything else, except one little local union. When Hoffa realized he was finally going to jail . . . he pulled Fitzsimmons up and gave it to him. There was language that if the president died or couldn't serve for any other reason, the executive vice president would automatically become president. So that's how you have Fitzsimmons. He couldn't stand up to Hoffa. If the parole board would let them, Fitzsimmons would step down in a minute and let Hoffa have it again" (the quote is from Joseph Goulden's *Meany*; p. 255).

With major contract negotiations coming up in 1973, covering nearly 5 million workers in auto, rubber, communications, electrical industry and others, and with the incomes policy law expiring on April 30, how much of the union leadership and ranks can welcome a national image of the union movement cast in terms of Brennan, Meany and Fitzsimmons? The resulting political cross-currents are another burden the unions may have to bear in 1973.

Neither the building trades nor the Teamsters expect to retreat in 1973; they consider themselves in. It's the rest of the labor movement that expects to feel the direct blow of Nixon's triumph over Senator McGovern. In 1973, the prospects are for a tough fight in order to stand still.

The excitement over the choice of Brennan, who held a press conference at the Hotel Commodore in New York City on the same day, overshadowed an important conference on labor and international affairs sponsored by the New York Teachers' union for the AFL-CIO. Although neither George Meany, who was recovering from an illness, nor Jay Lovestone, director of the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department, appeared as scheduled, nearly 200 union leaders were given a candid and dismal report on the isolation of the AFL-CIO from important sections of the so-called free labor movement.

Not only is the AFL-CIO out of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which it once dominated, but its relations with the British and the German union movements are chilly, to put it mildly. Willy Brandt came in for criticism, as did the German social democracy and the Metal Workers' union, for "running to Moscow." Undoubtedly, the victories of the labor parties in Australia and New Zealand will also have an adverse effect on AFL-CIO influence abroad. The overall impression given by the conference was that the old China Lobby with its virulent anti-communism wasn't dead, but had been reincarnated in a Meany lobby. From that far-Right position, even President Nixon isn't beyond suspicion as being "soft on communism." This is the blind alley into which Meany's obsessions have driven the AFL-CIO. □

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PROBLEMS WITHOUT ISSUES

A 'CRITICAL' ELECTION MISFIRES

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The 1972 elections leave us once again with a profound political question: Why do we have so many problems and so few issues?

Most of America's dilemmas seemed to come to a head in the late 1960s. By 1968 rioting was widespread among lower-income groups, and disaffection was so rampant among the middle groups that an incumbent President was not even welcome at a convention of his own party. Yet the 1968 campaign was empty of everything except a moderate suspense as to the outcome, and even the question of winning was interesting only because politics has become good box office, another entertainment in TV's Wide World of Sports.

The midterm elections of 1970 also occurred amid widespread confrontations. Cambodia and Kent State brought many things into focus. Congress' sigh of *mea culpa* on the war made debate possible and dissent respectable. There were signs of maturity in the approaches to America's race problems. Yet the cumulative effect of the 1970 elections was utter boredom and irrelevance. All the war talk sounded moderately dovish, and all the domestic talk sounded moderately law-and-orderish, washed as they were into obscurity by a detergent called the "social issue." There were no issues at all. Everyone seemed to see society's problems in about the same way, and the candidates appeared mere mouthpieces for a consensus that had existed before the election—that seemed always to have existed.

So too with 1972. Before the political year began we were apparently overrun with problems. We were still suffering from what Meg Greenfield of *The Washington Post* had in the early 1960s called the "problem problem." Cities were less safe, yet more expensive; peace was closer but war had never been so vicious; governments had never tried so hard, taxed so much, or been so close to bankruptcy.

Yet for the duration of the campaign there were no issues. Not once did Mr. Nixon have to take off the Presidential cloak; no threat ever made that necessary. America's problems were simply not translated into points of political relevance. The best we came up with was the question of George McGovern's character. That being the case, something has gone wrong with American political institutions.

Most of our elections, including national elections, are routine affairs. Mandates are rarely more than the idle bluster of the winner. Elections are important because they give a few people license to rule for a limited period of time; and that is important, whether an issue was settled or not. But every generation or so we have expected more from an election, and we have gotten it. Every thirty to forty years conditions seem to be ripe for a "critical election." It is a situation in which political parties suddenly spring apart on important issues, candidates honestly and consistently differ, and the citizenry turn out to vote in unusually high proportion, exhilarated by the prospect of a real choice.

Critical elections usually occur during or after a serious domestic crisis. They usually follow a period in which one of the major parties has gone through a serious defeat and regeneration, because it is usually in such a period that a party is weak enough to be permeated by new leaders intensely committed to a specific solution for a defined social problem. The 1932 and 1936 elections were the last occasions when we witnessed a party coming out of reconstruction with a clear electoral orientation, a program and a commitment to change. The results of decisions and electoral realignments made at that time still affect us today.

Similar conditions prevailed in 1972. In fact many of the most astute political historians have been expecting a critical election since 1964, because they felt that conditions were by then comparable to 1932. Reasonable observers can of course disagree on when conditions are sufficient, but one datum alone suggests that by 1972 we were surely ready. That single fact is that more than 80 per cent of the delegates at the Democratic National Convention were in attendance for the first time.

George McGovern's nomination is still another indication of the presence of sufficient conditions for a critical election. He was an outsider who seized his party's nomination as the leader of a movement of outsiders. The movement was clearly the culmination of concerns over the war, to which several domestic preoccupations attached themselves. This movement took over the convention by a surprisingly effective combination of unconventional direct-action politics (learned in the 1960s) and respectable, conventional party politics (learned in the aftermath of the failure of 1960s direct-action politics). No better example of critical election politics has been seen since the nomination of William Jennings Bryan led the Democratic Party into the critical election of 1896.

Now that the election is over it is patent to almost everyone that George McGovern could not have won. But in a critical election winning is surprisingly irrelevant. What matters is how the campaign is fought and whether it realigns the electorate into voting components roughly relevant to the real problems of the day. That is precisely how, in a mass democracy, problems are translated into issues. It is not done simply by candidates wishing it or voters demanding it. It happens only when the whole thrust of party politics is directed toward one or two intensely felt and clearly stated problems.

George McGovern came in on a peace movement, but as matters turned out, especially Nixon's skillful manipulation of international news, it was impossible for Democrats to win with peace as the issue. Nevertheless, peace

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was the basis of the McGovern movement, and it could have won in the way most movements win, by establishing the fact that peace and America's place in the world are issues over which the American people have a right to exercise some long-range control. This was the "new politics." It was a "new politics" in the same way that we have had new politics several times before in our history. This movement made George McGovern a one-issue candidate. He tried to be a multi-issue candidate. He became a non-issue candidate.

At the personal level, George McGovern's conduct let down the movement that got him the nomination. But the personal side is irrelevant. It is only indicative of a more general failure of party politics to solve problems for American democracy. Somehow the vital energies of this movement were snuffed out by party structures. The consequences of this turn of events are so important that they will be the subject of analysis and explanation for many years to come. Here I want to take note of the most salient apparent consequences and then turn to a first effort at explanation.

The outstanding feature of 1972 is the extent to which the election itself was out of joint with the other political developments of that year. This already begins to suggest that the election suppressed the natural tendencies already at work, the strongest indication being that most of the politically significant changes of 1972 took place before the election. For example, thirteen members of the House lost their seats in the spring and summer primaries. Ten of these were Democrats, and their departure represented a loss to Congress and to the Democratic Party of 202 years of seniority (computed by counting the number of years served beyond the first term). Three of the Democratic losers were chairmen of important committees. An additional thirty members of the House retired altogether from politics (two by death); thirteen of these were Democrats, two of them committee chairmen; a large percentage, one may assume, were moved to retire by a depressing assessment of their chances for re-election. These retirees represent a seniority loss of 186 years to Democrats and to the Congress.

In contrast, a total of only thirteen incumbents lost in the election, and a mere eight of these were Democrats —several of whom lost because of redistricting rather than campaigning. These losses deprived Democrats in Congress of no committee chairmen and only 106 years of seniority.

All told, counting also those who retired voluntarily to seek higher office, the House of Representatives will in 1973 be almost 1,000 years younger than it was in 1972, but only a tiny proportion of this rejuvenation is attributable to the $500 million spent on the campaign. In fact, more than 80 per cent of all the incumbents running for re-election were successful. What a moment of frustration it is to ponder the contrast between the 80 per cent of new delegates at the Democratic convention and the 80 per cent of old incumbents returned to Congress by the election!

Or consider the following as a further example of how the election was out of joint with all of the other results of 1972. Despite the defeat of the liberal McGovern, only seven of all departing Congressmen had compiled ADA or "liberal" support records better than 70 per cent. The large majority of departing members actually had liberal support records of less than 50 per cent, and nearly a third of these were actual conservatives, with liberal scores below 14 per cent. Contrast this to 1964, when the Republican Presidential candidate took an equivalent shellacking. Forty Republicans were defeated in the general elections alone, causing

von Hedemann

the GOP to lose 244 years of Republican seniority in the House, along with several ranking members of such important committees as Rules, Ways and Means, and Appropriations (seven of the twenty Republicans on Appropriations were defeated and an eighth retired). All but four of the Republicans who went down with Goldwater had liberal support scores below 25 per cent, and thirty-one of these supported liberal legislation less than 14 per cent of the time. In 1964, that is, defeat was consistent; in 1972, defeat was almost completely meaningless. The terms of discourse and the lines of conflict will be irrelevant to electorates for at least another four years.

When the complete theory of the 1972 election is written, a large part of the failure of American politics will probably be seen to stem from the stress put on electoral victory as the only test of political virility. In our political system nothing is quite so ignominious as defeat. That is largely because we tend to define politics as a game. Winning and losing are the only dimensions that seem to concern us, and usually this comes down to the very narrow question of *who* won. There is little concern for *what* won, or how. And as long as winning remains the test of virility, party politics will continue to suppress issues because, even though the need to face problems may be compelling, the risks of losing are too great when problems are raised to the pro or con clarity of issues.

Defining politics as a game is natural to a politician like Richard Nixon, who has a game plan for damned near everything. But it seems evident that politics-as-a-game had almost everything to do with the McGovern strategy as well. In the end this seems to be what led him to forsake his movement. McGovern, or his staff,

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killed a historic opportunity by redefining it in conventional party terms. This definition provided them with a guide to their responsibilities, which boiled down to a single imperative: use all resources rationally to win the game.

If victory is all that counts, even when you are doomed to lose, the main thing is to decide what you think the voters think. The key to the whole silly effort is to gain rapport in order to attract votes. And the main job, then, is to study the polls.

The trouble is that this sort of thing can be done, and in this case was done, irrationally. The polls were accurate this year, but accurate only in reporting gross voter inclination between the two major candidates. Almost nothing else about polling, this year or any other year, is a matter of accurate forecasting. It is all a matter of interpretation, and the urge to win led the McGovern people to serious errors of interpretation and therefore of judgment.

Organizations like Gallup or Roper design questionnaires to solicit the opinions of respondents on a variety of substantive concerns. These are "issues" in one sense, because each question is framed as an issue, in order to get a distribution of opinions on "both sides." One good example would be something like, "Some people feel that all children should attend integrated schools, even if public transportation is required. Would you strongly agree, agree, be neutral, disagree, or strongly disagree with their position?" Simple as such questions may seem —and there is indeed a science to making questions simple—they, like hypnotism, produce serious distortions when put in the wrong hands. The first distortion is the impression polls give to the uninitiated that there is an issue corresponding to the question. The poll defines bussing as an issue by posing a question for the ayes and the nays and the don't knows. But the entire extent to which bussing has been employed, and the existing law and practice on bussing, are left out of the background of the question. The complex matter of school quality is left out. The complex history of abuse of bussing by white suburbs is left out. What is it that a person is saying aye or nay to?

As it turns out, the most serious and knowledgeable respondents would actually be obliged to respond "don't know" to almost any opinion question, unless each question were prefaced by a monograph of explanation. It is in this respect that the poll can give a false sense of the existence of an issue.

A second serious type of distortion arises from the cumulative impression made by all the opinion questions on a given questionnaire. If you ask twenty opinion questions, you will tend to get a distribution of yesses, no's and don't knows on all twenty. Moreover, the don't knows will normally be less than 10 per cent of the total, because people usually do not know enough, or lack the courage to say they do not know enough, about an important problem. But if an "issue" is by definition a public problem on which a significant number of people disagree, then each of the twenty questions *is* an issue. The rest is easy to picture. George McGovern's staff studied these responses, interpreted each result as an "issue," and then decided that a rationally conducted campaign should include position papers on each of these issues, with the candidate expressing his views on each of these issues in a significant section of the country. In this manner, George McGovern was killed by the extreme rationality of his staff and by his own sense of responsibility to take courageous positions on all the things that seemed to preoccupy the voters. By taking a stand on every so-called issue, Mr. McGovern pulled the fuse from his own movement, and at the same time heaped upon himself all of the hostilities that an electorate invariably feels when something it does not understand seems to be happening.

A third type of distortion, which I wrote about at length after the 1970 campaign ("Politics of Dead Center: The Artificial Majority," *The Nation*, December 7, 1970) is the Illusion of Central Tendency that the polls unintentionally produce. That is, along with the illusion that voters are neatly arranged on two sides of a well-defined issue, the polls produce the illusion that the preponderance of voters are located at the center of each issue, mildly for versus mildly against. Often this is true, but often it is not: on some questions the voters are really far apart—or polarized. Yet when a pollster asks a question in an area where the issue is poorly defined—as, for example, "Do you favor or oppose bussing?"—the typical voter, who may be faintly aware of all the conflicting possibilities, must respond "maybe" or "moderately," even though he may feel very strongly negative on some aspects of the issue and very strongly the other way on other aspects. For example, if the question dealt strictly and exclusively with the prospect of bussing blacks from the center city out to suburban and upper-white city schools, the distribution of responses would almost certainly be quite different from the results if the question were one of bussing in both directions. When all such elements are masked in one basket question about "bussing," the attempt to respond becomes a neurotic situation for the person answering. He must engage himself in an inner dialogue, take the various implicit components of the question into balance, and then "on net," report a moderate yes or a moderate no or a don't know and go away feeling that the poll was kind of silly. And he would be right.

George McGovern's sincere effort to be an issue candidate was ultimately undermined by the equally sincere urge of his staff and the Democratic National Committee to be rational. That is what turned "new politics" into old politics, and it happened without anybody noticing. The preconvention momentum was lost and the campaign doomed—not to defeat, because that seemed foreordained —but to meaningless defeat.

But should the rest of us take it lightly that the party system quashed our once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to have a plebiscite on peace? The militants of the 1960s should be most indignant, because all that promise about the effectiveness of conventional politics proved to be nothing but the right to embrace the existing leadership—to embrace not the American system of democracy but an increasingly outmoded system of party politics. But the non-militants of Left and Right should also be indignant, because the party system is so irrelevant even

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when the opportunity for relevance is so close at hand. How else can one interpret the fact that a spectacularly bona-fide mass movement of early 1972 was, by late 1972, nothing but a passive audience for some of the silliest political promises ever made? It was the polls, not the conscience, that made cowards of them all.

This most recent national campaign proves only that the primary function of elections and of political parties in America is conquest. More effectively than the military and the FBI, "democratic participation" brought most of the disaffected of the 1960s back into the system. But conventional politics no longer means the right to use the franchise to bring about nonviolent change; it means only the opportunity to be a member of a status quo. The earlier militancy had proven that obstructive tactics and trashing were almost instantly counter-productive. Now after 1972, it is proven that a militant commitment to conventional politics is also useless. This may turn out to be counter-productive for the system itself if it demoralizes thousands of young people by giving the impression that there are no routes at all to political change.

In fact, there seems to be only one other route to political change that is as yet untried, and it may be attractive because it is as unconventional as militancy, but as nonviolent as conventional participation. This route is *abstentionism.*

Abstentionism has no special political meaning in English. The Oxford Dictionary defines it only in terms of holding back, whether from drinking whisky or signing a manifesto. But the French and many other Europeans look at it somewhat differently. They see it as a political act, an act questioning the legitimacy of what is going on. The Argentines were apparently threatening to engage in this kind of abstentionism until the military rulers agreed to bring Perón from exile.

America teaches that good citizenship involves giving support to the system. It means showing respect for the symbols and objects of power, and that often extends to showing respect even for individual power holders and their interest groups. It implies voting, but tends to define voting as an act of giving consent. Citizenship has come, therefore, to be defined rather narrowly, as in "vote for the candidate of your choice." This is comparable to our narrow and stilted definition of religion as "worship at the church of your choice." It seems that citizenship was never supposed—in the United States—to mean *withholding* consent.

Consequently, participation has become a *pro forma* matter of voting yes or no to a referendum, or yes or yes to one of two major candidates. The only alternative, even as defined in the scientific study of political behavior, is "non-voting," or "non-participation," which amounts to virtual non-citizenship. In the election just held, scarcely more than half the electorate voted, and this is widely taken as a sign that the democratic process is seriously sick. And so it is, if the voters stay home from apathy or because they find both the candidates distasteful; and particularly it is so if they nurse their dissatisfactions in privacy, being both absent and not counted. The alternative to this in the past has been obstructionism, which is illegal.

But there is a third way—voting by abstention: actual participation by refusing, on publicly expressed principle, to participate. In brief, it is sometimes an exercise of citizenship to refuse to give consent to be governed. That does not imply an obligation of civil disobedience. It means only that, for a certain period, you will obey only because those who govern hold power over you and can punish you severely for not obeying. It means that in your opinion the exercise of power is illegitimate because it was gained illegitimately and that you will obey the illegitimate power only because you have no choice.

Abstentionism is almost the only counter-weapon citizens have when arbitrariness, or corruption, or surveillance, or suppression is widespread. It should be engaged in when, as in 1972, there is too much concern for winning. Mort Sahl put it all together in 1960 when he suggested that we "vote no for President." The rest of his line was ". . . and leave the White House empty for another four years." The White House is going to be occupied no matter what we do, but a national "vote no for President" movement, led by a few thousand people who command public respect and can voice public indignation, might well give that occupant of the White House, whoever he is, a strong sense that he had better so conduct himself as to earn the legitimacy that he does not yet enjoy.

Something drastic must be done to bring the politician

Mahood, Punch (London)

"I Would Like to Thank the Silent Majority for Keeping Quiet about Vietnam, Urban Blight, Pollution, Crime and Inflation—I hope You Will Keep up the Good Work on Bugging and the Misuse of Campaign Funds."

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back to a proper political role, and abstentionism may be just the thing, because it may be the only effective way to vote against the political system without indicating an intention to destroy it. Abstentionism may be a way to hold a political system to its own pretensions, which you cannot do by merely voting against the incumbent. That is what Southern blacks used to try when both candidates were racists. But true abstentionism was not available to Southern blacks, because they participated only on sufferance, and their consent was neither needed nor desired.

Seen in this way, abstentionism is a kind of third party. True, it will elect no candidates, but in this country the function of third parties, when they are in any measure effective, is not to win elections but to raise issues. Voters who declare themselves abstentionists gain a power hitherto unsuspected. They can deprive politicians of consent, which is something politicians desperately need. Their only recourse would be to try to regain that consent, and it seems clear that their response would have to involve some effort to change their own ways. And what would our conditions be? Quit lying, quit hiding the truth, quit misrepresenting. Quit being all things to all people. Try, for a change, to be *some* things to *some* people. The election of 1972 makes the notion of abstentionism a good deal more attractive and plausible than it ever was before.

Such a stand might very well end up producing a multi-party system. This is always a tendency when politicians set their goals at something short of a majority. But we have really operated under a multi-party system for many years! There have consistently been three parties on the national scene, the Republicans, the Democrats and the Southern Democrats. Mr. Nixon's "opening to the Left" may well reveal still a fourth party. These separate third and fourth parties have been masked over by the requirements of the electoral college and the committee system in Congress. But it has been clear at least since 1968 that the electoral college is a dangerous as well as a silly instrument for electing Presidents, and the talk about abolishing it subsided only because George Wallace did not become a third-party candidate for President in 1972. Abolition of the electoral college might all by itself relieve politicians of the obsession to gain rapport with every single voter, and that would make national campaigns for President a good deal more honest.

Meanwhile, the behavior of politicians must be changed, and there must be a means to express our dissatisfaction with the behavior of politicians. Abstentionism could be that means. □

EUROPE'S NEW SPECTER

Socialists and the Common Market

BERNARD K. JOHNPOLL
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A specter is haunting Europe's Socialists; it is the Common Market. At least three powerful Socialist parties in Western Europe are being torn apart by internal feuding over the Common Market, and bitter strife has developed between pro- and anti-EEC Socialists across national borders. Two Socialist prime ministers have resigned, directly or indirectly, because of the Common Market. And a Socialist member of Parliament has resigned in Britain in order to force an unwanted by-election.

The hardest hit of the parties are in Norway, which voted in a referendum against entry; Denmark, which voted in favor of entry, and Great Britain, whose parliamentary Labour leadership opposes only the terms of entry accepted by Prime Minister Edward Heath's Conservative government, but whose recent annual convention made clear that a majority of its 6.5 million members oppose British membership under any conditions.

The Norwegian situation is particularly serious. The leadership of both the Norwegian Labor Party and the Norwegian Federation of Labor (known commonly as the LO) favored entry. Trygve Bratelli, the Socialist prime minister with a long and honorable record of fidelity to Socialist ideals (a fidelity which cost him four years in Hitler's concentration camps), and one of the most popular men in Norway, pleaded long and hard with Norwegians—particularly Socialists—to vote for entry in the September 25th referendum. He was joined by almost all the country's other Socialist and labor leaders and all of Norway's forty-four Socialist newspapers, particularly Oslo's influential *Arbeiderbladet.* But to no avail.

When the votes were counted, Norwegians had rejected entry into the Common Market by 54 per cent. In the historically Socialist districts—in the north and the west of Norway—the vote was overwhelmingly negative (almost 85 per cent voted *"Nei"* in the north). The government's Central Statistical Bureau reported that almost half of the Socialist voters had voted against entry. In only two districts—Oslo, the center of Conservative Party strength, and Bergen, Norway's most "European" city with no strong Socialist tradition—was the vote favorable.

The effect on the Norwegian Labor Party has been devastating. Twelve of the party's seventy-four Storting members refused to support their own cabinet and joined the EEC opposition. One Labor member of the Storting resigned from the party and joined the tiny, left-wing, anti-EEC Socialist People's Party (becoming that party's

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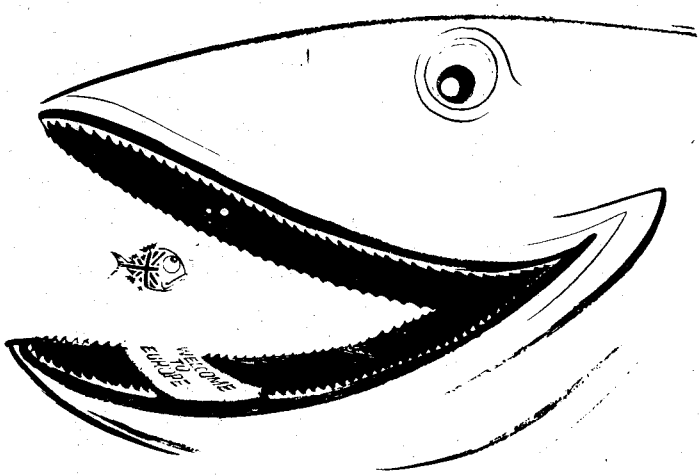
only member of the Storting). And, for the first time in almost fifty years, an organized faction, with its own publications and officers, has been set up and threatens to split off from the party. Its only point of divergence from official party policy is its opposition to EEC.

Faced with defeat on this crucial issue and with a growing split in his own party, Mr. Bratelli and his Socialist cabinet have resigned. The new right-wing minority government, led by Lars Korvald, of the fundamentalist, right-wing Christian People's Party, and composed of members of the isolationist, conservative-agrarian Center Party and dissident anti-EEC members of the Venstre (Liberal) Party, is basically nationalistic and conservative. For only the second time in twenty-seven years, Norway has a non-Socialist government. And, in view of the internal split, the hope for a return by the Labor Party in next year's elections appears dim.

If Norway's anti-Common Market vote was a disaster for the Socialists, the opposite result has played havoc with the Danish Socialists. There, too, the Social Democratic Party has been in power, with a few lapses, since the end of World War II. In Denmark, also, the official Socialist position favored entry. Moreover, in Denmark the party's seventy-seven Landsting members were all overtly in favor of the cabinet's position. But the party's rank and file was badly divided. During the campaign for the October referendum the most vocal opposition came from the left-wing members of the Social Democratic Party and from the eleven Landsting members of the Socialist Folks' Party, a left-wing splinter party founded by ex-Communists opposed to the totalitarian aspects of Communist policy.



Waite, London Daily Mirror

Jens Otto Krag, the prime minister, and his foreign minister, K. B. Andersen, campaigned long and hard for Danish entry into the Market. And the results were overwhelmingly positive—63 per cent "*Ja.*" But it was in the rural anti-Socialist areas that the Common Market fared best. Some agricultural districts in Jutland voted almost 100 per cent for entry. In the Socialist strongholds—the industrial urban areas—the vote was close; Copenhagen voters opposed entry.

Mr. Krag, one of Denmark's leading economists, recognized his party's precarious position and resigned on the morning after victory was proclaimed. (There were also personal reasons for his stepping down.) As his successor, the Socialists chose Anker Jorgensen, a Harvard-educated trade union leader with strong left-wing leanings. Mr. Jorgensen was chosen to placate the anti-Market Left within the party. In his eight years in the Landsting, he had never previously held cabinet or subcabinet posts. Whether his appointment will avert a stricture is problematical—the anti-Marketeers in the party do not appear to be satisfied; they have not disbanded their factional organization. And the Socialist Folks' Party has refused to assure Mr. Jorgensen of its support in the Landsting—which support he needs to maintain his parliamentary majority of one. The 1973 elections are less than a year away, and unless the split is healed the Social Democrats are in an untenable position.

The Scandinavian Socialists are normally pragmatic enough to effect some workable compromise and avert an open rupture; the division in the British Labour Party appears deeper and the factions seem irreconcilable.

The official position of the Parliamentary Labour Party is opposed to entry into the Common Market on the conditions agreed to by Edward Heath's Conservative government. Ex-Prime Minister Harold Wilson, the official leader of the party, is not opposed to entry per se. He and his followers oppose particularly the Value Added Tax, which Britain must institute on January 1 as a condition of membership, and the Common Agricultural Policy. The VAT, essentially a hidden sales tax common in continental Europe, has been opposed by the Labour Party since its inception seventy-two years ago. The Common Agricultural Policy would virtually require Britain to buy its foodstuffs within the Market, a policy which will raise prices and may do irreparable damage to the farmers of New Zealand and Canada, two of Britain's chief suppliers.

Within the Labour Party there are, however, two other powerful wings which take diametrically opposing views of the Market. The Tribune group, led by Michael Foot and Tom Driberg, is opposed to the EEC on principle. They argue that it is basically a means to strengthen capitalism in Europe. The other wing—headed by Roy Jenkins, ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer and ex-deputy leader of the party—favors entering the Market now, and revising the terms of negotiation after Labour regains power.

At the party congress in Blackpool, the Tribune position was in the majority. Although the anti-EEC resolution submitted by the Engineers' union was defeated by a fraction of 1 per cent, the almost equally harsh anti-Market resolution of the Boilermarkers' Union was adopted overwhelmingly. In a contradictory action, the conference also adopted a plank in its platform which supported Mr. Wilson's position. And Mr. Wilson, in his major policy statement to the congress ignored the Boilermaker resolution.

Last month, the Parliamentary Labour Party, composed of Labour MPs, elected its shadow cabinet. Sup-

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porters of Mr. Wilson's position dominated that vote. Mrs. Shirley Wilson, whose views on the Common Market are slightly more moderate than even Mr. Wilson's, led in the polling.

The split in British Labour now appears almost sure —although the party has weathered earlier equally severe storms. George Thomson, a Labour M.P. and a former member of Mr. Wilson's cabinet, has accepted an appointment as British commissioner in the EEC. He has named as his chief aide Gwynn Morgan, the assistant general secretary of the party. Another pro-Market Labour M.P., Richard Taverne, has left the party, formed his own Democratic Labour Party, and resigned his seat in the Commons. This has forced a by-election in the normally safe Labour district of Lincoln. Polls indicate that Mr. Taverne will be re-elected. Mr. Jenkins and his followers, including the editors of the *New Statesman*, are not yet ready to join Mr. Taverne or Mr. Thomson. But time appears to be running out, since Britain is due to enter the Common Market on January 1.

The Socialist split has gone beyond national lines. Dutch Socialist Sico Mansholt, a Common Market commissioner, and Mr. Wilson have hurled insults at each other—Mr. Wilson from the rostrum of the Labour Party congress; Mr. Mansholt from his office in EEC headquarters in Brussels. And other, low-keyed feuds abound among West European Socialists who disagree about the EEC. The specter will haunt them for some time to come. □

GOVERNOR EDWARDS OF LOUISIANA

A MODERATE'S FIRST TEST

NICHOLAS C. CHRISS
Mr. Chriss, Houston bureau chief of the Los Angeles Times, *was formerly on the news staff of the Tupelo (Miss.)* Daily Journal. *He has covered most of the major race stories in the South since 1954. Mr. Chriss has also been a foreign correspondent in London, Frankfurt and Berlin.*

Baton Rouge

Gov. Edwin W. Edwards of Louisiana is known for his candor, a trait always refreshing on the political scene, and particularly in Louisiana. The Governor is proud of it, as he is of his Cajun ancestry; but it can, on occasions like that to be described in a moment, lead him into water somewhat hotter than he anticipates.

Edwards' election last spring was called a "Cajun *coup d'état*" and to celebrate it he and his friends paid for a fourteen-hour, black-tie wing-ding for several thousand on the mansion lawn, complete with gumbo, whole roasted pigs, *cochon au lait*, crawfish, jambalaya and Jimmy Newman's hillbilly band. Thousands more than were expected showed up, including many of Edwards' Cajun friends. Asked about this later, he said: "I didn't know that many Cajuns had tuxedos." The Governor showed his candor, too, in his inaugural speech, which was widely quoted not only in Louisiana but also across the nation. He said in part: "If there is one lesson we should have learned from the last twenty years, it is that state governments will either assume their responsibilities or they will be swept away by the tide of history, left only to gather dust in their own ruins."

He called the state government "stagnant," preoccupied with "bureaucratic paper shuffling," and "remote from the people." And he held out hope: "To the poor, the elderly, the unemployed, the thousands of black Louisianans who have not yet enjoyed the full bounty of the American dream, we extend not a palm with alms but the hand of friendship. We understand your plight. We shall lighten your burdens and open wide the doors of opportunity."

Last month, Edwards had his first chance to show that he meant what he said. He passed the test, though not with all colors flying.

When two young black men were shot at Southern University in Baton Rouge on November 16, one of Edwards' concerns was that the nation would consider it a racial episode, and Louisiana has had enough of those in the past. From the start, Edwards himself had labored to settle the dispute with young black militants on the Baton Rouge campus, and at the branch campus in New Orleans. He had taken insults and obscenities from the students; he had made agreements, some of them personally humiliating, only to have the students respond with still more extreme demands. He had probably done more than any other governor in the South during such a campus disorder; certainly much more than the Governors of South Carolina and Mississippi did after the Orangeburg and Jackson State student killings.

To explain his position, Edwards invited some out-of-state reporters to the mansion for dinner the day following the slayings that had occurred during a confrontation with police in front of the school's administration building. About ten of us went. We discussed Southern University, the deaths, politics. One reporter took notes. When it came time to leave, the Governor invited us back "any time—at noon or six o'clock for lunch or dinner" the following day.

I returned, along with a reporter from the Voice of America. Most of us had admired Edwards' frankness. I had also noticed that he was gradually changing his outlook on the slayings. At first he had been adamant: no police officer had fired the shots; the theory appeared to be that they might have come from within the student group. Then Edwards began to drop hints that the buckshot blast could have come from a nervous deputy

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sheriff, one of about 150 officers on the scene. When we met for lunch the next day, I had a question: "Governor, who do you really think fired the shot that killed those students?" With no hesitation he replied: "I have no doubt it was a deputy sheriff who fired the shot."

After several days of misguided statements, Edwards' candor once again had won. It was so unlike the usual flimflam statements that had come out of Orangeburg, Jackson State and Kent State that I was surprised. Then, Edwards went on to describe how he thought it could have happened. The deputy sheriffs were poorly trained; they were frightened. They believed they could have been shot at and killed, and they were nervous. The more Edwards discussed his feelings the more he revealed how much he had thought about the circumstances of the deaths and how much they distressed him. It would be best, he said, if on such occasions the deputies went in without ammunition, but they wouldn't. (He did not implicate the highly trained state police.)

I based my story on what the Governor said; there had been nothing off the record. But by this point his candor was producing counter-pressures in the community, and Edwards began to feel the wind. He called both the *Los Angeles Times* and *The Washington Post* and attempted to kill the story, alleging that I had violated his confidence and that he had not said it that way. He succeeded in killing the story in the only two Louisiana newspapers which receive the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post news service. His press secretary asked me to kill the story, though admitting it was accurate. Privately, Edwards also admitted it was accurate.

This episode was certainly a retreat from the position Governor Edwards outlined for himself at the time of the inauguration. It may, however, be only temporary, part of the process whereby the Governor and the state will take each other's measure. Since then, he has appeared before the committee of blacks that is investigating what happened at Southern; he was the first, and thus far the only, white to do so.

All three major black schools in Louisiana—Grambling, Southern at Baton Rouge and the branch at New Orleans—have had student protests during the past months. This is unusual, because the elderly black administrators at these schools have ruled with an iron hand for a long time. During my discussion with him, Edwards said that G. Leon Netterville, the 65-year-old president of Southern University at Baton Rouge was "out of step with the students. I as a white man understand them better than he does." He wanted to fire Netterville.

Obviously, part of the problem at these schools is that they remain all-black institutions, out of step with the times. Recently, the law school students at Texas Southern University in Houston abandoned their classes after protesting conditions of neglect that anyone unaware of conditions there would find hard to believe. The grievances at the three campuses in Louisiana centered on curriculum changes, cafeteria services, the school flag, finances, the bookstore, the library, medical facilities. The students also demanded the resignation of certain officials and some of them wanted a complete student take-over of the schools.

Changes in the schools' systems mean changes also in the affluent black middle- and upper-middle-class structure of faculty and administration that has grown with the schools. While much has been written about the external difficulties of black colleges, very little is known about their internal troubles. Some black students, for example, have found that concentration on black studies is a dead-end pursuit. The protesters at Southern University noted in the preface to their demands, "Movements of change are sweeping the world, yet the Southern system has remained steadfast in its clearly defined role of 'nigger' college."

Edwards understands and sympathizes with many of these protests, but noted that "you cannot correct in three days the ills of two decades." He is also worried about his political future. In him, the struggle between candor and career awaits resolution. □

SECOND-TERM SURVEILLANCE

THE FROEHLKE AFFAIR

ATHAN G. THEOHARIS

Mr. Theoharis, associate professor of American history at Marquette University, is the author of Seeds of Repression: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of McCarthyism *(Quadrangle Books) and* The Yalta Myths: An Issue in American Politics, 1945-55 *(University of Missouri Press). His earlier* Nation *piece on wiretapping ("Thirty Years of Wire Tapping," June 14, 1971) won a Gavel Award from the American Bar Association.*

Though some of the heat will now be off, Congress when it reconvenes has a duty to investigate the Watergate affair and similar capers associated with the recent Presidential campaign. At the least, House and Senate should now attempt to learn (*1*) the extent to which high Republican officials knew of or were involved in the Watergate bugging; (*2*) who was responsible for the apparently extensive Republican political sabotage of the Democratic campaign; and (*3*) the political uses of the FBI. In the latter case, Congress should ask why, in 1972, the FBI complied with a high Republican official's request for information involving the Democratic campaign; and what had been the rationale for, and the extent of, the FBI's compilation since 1950 of dossiers on Congressional candidates.

Congress cannot assume that Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray's directive to the effect automatically terminated surveillance of Congressmen, or that the

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Watergate Seven were zealots who acted independently and without the authority or knowledge of responsible Republican officials. Perhaps these were cases of subordinate irresponsibility or the simple legacies of the McCarthy era; it is also possible that they were not. In either case, there exists real cause for concern as to whether President Nixon and other responsible federal officials effectively restrain or tacitly condone their subordinates' surveillance of political activists.

In addition, because surveillance was directed at members of Congress and the Democratic National Committee, it is logical to conclude that still closer watch has been kept on less powerful and respectable citizens. The general civil liberties record of the Administration during its first term, particularly in its uses of wiretapping, is reason enough for this concern, if not alarm.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, passed in June 1968, for the first time gave the Department of Justice specific statutory authority to wiretap. The vague language of this Act, specifically in ceding blanket authority to the executive branch to wiretap in situations threatening the national security, was immediately seized upon by the recently elected Nixon Administration. Indeed, then Attorney General John Mitchell, in a brief filed in June 1969 during the conspiracy trial of the Chicago Eight, claimed that the Department of Justice had legal power to wiretap without court order members of organizations which it believed *intended* to "attack or subvert the Government by unlawful means."

Mitchell's brief implied a plan to conduct extensive surveillance of radical dissidents, and ran counter to the assurances given by those Senators who in 1968 had urged passage of the measure. The Department of Justice sought to silence the protests raised over this claim by periodically issuing press releases detailing the number of Court-approved wiretaps then in use. The number ranged from thirty-one to seventy, seemingly a limited use. However, these releases reported only Court-approved wiretaps; as such, they are no index of the Attorney General's conception of what threatens the national security. As the subsequent grand jury proceedings and trials of political and cultural dissidents confirmed (instances include White Panther Lawrence Plamondon, Daniel Ellsberg, Leslie Bacon, the Harrisburg defendants), the Administration has employed electronic surveillance extensively.

Supreme Court Justice Powell repudiated Mitchell's claim to unlimited authority, but that is no assurance that illegal electronic surveillance has ended, since Powell's decision restricts the use in Court of information so secured, and not the practice itself. For those inclined to apply it, there is the precedent of the Department of Justice's interpretation of the 1939 and 1940 Supreme Court wiretapping decisions. At that time, the Department maintained that the Court had simply prohibited the divulgence of information gained through wiretapping. Despite Powell's decision, we have no assurance that extensive electronic surveillance of political activists without Court approval has been abandoned; it may well be carried on for reasons of harassment and intimidation rather than criminal indictment. Indeed, the Froehlke affair would suggest that the Nixon Administration is committed to just such extensive use.

On March 2, 1971 then Assistant Secretary of Defense Robert F. Froehlke appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights at hearings specifically convened in response to the admission by a former Army security official in 1970 that he had conducted surveillance of civilians, and that those who had been under Army observation included U.S. Congressman Abner Mikva and the then Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate, Adlai Stevenson III. The subcommittee accordingly sought to discover the extent of Army surveillance of domestic civilian activities, the source of authority for such surveillance, and what controls over it were exercised by responsible civilian officials in the executive branch.

Froehlke sought in his testimony to allay Congressional concern. He admitted that the Army had been keeping watch on Stevenson and Mikva. He further reported that the Army had conducted electronic surveillance in one instance. (This had occurred during the 1968 Democratic National Convention.) But on March 1, 1971, Froehlke informed the subcommittee, the Department of Defense had issued a directive specifically forbidding surveillance of elected officials, political candidates, or other persons or organizations except as authorized by law. Furthermore, the directive forbade the maintenance of computer data banks, except with permission of the Secretary of Defense.

Whatever effect Froehlke's assurances may have had on the curiosity of Congress, his closely guarded admissions were hardly calculated to quiet the civil libertarian's fears. Thus the Assistant Secretary maintained that high officials in the Department of Justice and the White House had been aware of and involved in "the general planning and direction" of the Army's surveillance of civilians and in the "establishment of requisites for and the tasking of the military services to provide the civil disturbance information needed." Froehlke emphasized the "crisis atmosphere" that had prevailed in Washington from 1965 to 1970, noting that in 1967 and 1968 "heavy emphasis was placed by civilian and military officials at the highest level of government in improving the [federal government's] preparedness" to respond to civil disturbances.

Froehlke's testimony implied that the recent Defense Department directive would effectively preclude the repetition of the unnecessary snooping. While emphasizing that officials in the White House and the Justice Department were aware of the "preparedness" activities and thus that Army surveillance had been tightly controlled during the 1965-70 period, Froehlke also implied that this earlier surveillance derived from the crisis atmosphere and not from an administrative desire for power. The gist of his testimony seemed to advance the suggestion that neither further Congressional investigation nor specific prohibitory legislation was needed.

It is now evident, however, that Froehlke's March 2, 1971 testimony had been less than candid. On August 31, 1972, *The New York Times* secured and published

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excerpts from Defense Department documents which revealed that a more serious situation had prevailed. Collectively, these documents disclosed that Froehlke's testimony had been incomplete if not duplicitous. An especially enlightening memo had been prepared by an Army security official in February 1971, for use during future testimony at the Senate hearings. In detailing Army electronic surveillance activities, this memo disclosed that there had been, not the *one* incident of electronic surveillance which Froehlke had reported, but *six*—the other five having occurred during the Republican National Convention in August 1968, the September 1968 Huey Newton trial, the October 1967 March on the Pentagon, the April 1968 Washington riots, and the May-June 1968 Poor People's March. The memo concluded: "It is conceivable that more information about these matters could be made public. We cannot ignore the possibility that this may extend to our actions during the Republican convention and the Newton trial."

Other documents revealed that Justice Department officials, aware of the Army's activities, were concerned about their illegality; and that Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark had not approved of it but had refused to deny flatly authority to conduct surveillance, reserving the right to review each action as it occurred. In essence, the crisis atmosphere had not impelled the Army's action but it loosened the restraints of the Attorney General.

These documents also raise important questions about the strategy behind Froehlke's March 1971 testimony. His specific admissions seemed at the time to justify Congressional inaction. The affair would have been seen as far more grave had Froehlke admitted the five additional cases of electronic spying. Since these revealed that the Army had been engaged in extensive surveillance of simple anti-war and political dissent, the subcommittee could probably have been stirred to more vigorous action.

Froehlke's testimony thus raises important questions which the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights really ought to pursue. Last August, Lawrence Baskir, chief counsel of the subcommittee, admitted to *New York Times* reporter Seymour Hersh that his staff had learned that Army surveillance "went farther than Secretary Froehlke had testified to at the hearings," and that "our attempts to get the Defense Department to give us full information about it were never answered." The real goal, however, is not fuller information concerning the extent of Army surveillance in 1967 and 1968, important though that is. More basic are the reasons behind Froehlke's incomplete March 1971 testimony. Was this simply the protective reaction of a subordinate, or even of high officials in the Defense Department, taken without the full knowledge and support of the executive branch? Was it, in short, another Lavelle affair? Or was the decision to offer incomplete testimony coordinated with the White House and/or the Justice Department? (Shortly after appearing before the subcommittee, Froehlke was promoted to Secretary of the Army; he must, therefore, have commanded considerable respect, or earned considerable gratitude within the Defense Department and the White House.) It must be recognized that the Army and Defense Department were not necessarily alone in desiring that Congress not conduct a full investigation of surveillance policies. The White House and Justice Department were also interested in the continuance of unrestricted executive authority to keep electronic tabs on political dissidents.

Oliphant, Denver Post

"Now, Some of You May Get the Idea that I Like *Pollution . . ."*

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The revelation of extensive Army surveillance could have led the Ervin subcommittee to extend the scope of its investigation to the policies of the Justice Department.

The Froehlke affair should impel a full Congressional inquiry into federal wiretapping and surveillance policy. This inquiry should examine both the principles underlying federal wiretapping policy and the effectiveness of executive controls over the activities of subordinate officials and departments. Even more than the widely publicized Watergate affair, the relatively unheralded Froehlke affair raises questions which only a complete Congressional investigation can answer. □

SHOPPING CENTERS

MAIN STREET GOES PRIVATE

ROSE DeWOLF
Miss DeWolf is a news columnist for the Philadelphia Bulletin *and the author of a book on divorce,* The Bonds of Acrimony *(Lippincott).*

The shopping center is said to be the symbol of Suburbia, U.S.A. If it is sufficiently big and elaborate, it may be called a mall; by either name, it is the new hub that has replaced "downtown" for 76 million Americans (the almost four in ten who now live in the suburbs). The mall is *not* Main Street, the major difference being not a matter of geography or architecture or parking spaces but of control. Local government plus an assemblage of merchants run Main Street; the mall owners run the mall. And therein lies the key to why and how shopping centers are changing venerable concepts of free speech, free enterprise and assorted other local customs.

There are 13,000 shopping centers in the United States, 500 of which are enclosed malls. They contain 200,000 stores and account for 40 per cent of all retail sales, excluding cars and building materials and supplies. In the twenty-eight largest metropolitan areas, shopping centers now outsell central business districts by 7 per cent or more. There are neighborhood centers—strips of small stores anchored, perhaps, by a supermarket. There are larger community centers, anchored by a department or variety store. And there are large regional centers, anchored by a minimum of two department stores. The newest regional centers include not only stores but also hotels, hospitals, office buildings, cultural centers and churches.

"The key word . . . ," says James W. Rouse of Rouse Co., one of the largest developers, "is completeness—the integration of all the retail and commercial functions of modern life and the activities that people are involved in: entertainment, recreation, health, shopping, eating, education."

Shopping centers, particularly the regional malls, have become the place to go in the suburbs. "A lot of women gear their lives just to this center," says John Schneiderman, public relations director of the King of Prussia Mall in suburban Philadelphia. "They do their housework early so that by 10 A.M. they can be here. Our lot holds 10,000 cars and on a sale day or a Saturday, it's full and sometimes we have to turn people away. We'll have people here a half hour to forty-five minutes before opening."

The malls are magnets for young people, who have made them the equivalent of the street corner where city kids used to congregate. On a Friday night, you cannot drive toward King of Prussia Mall on any main road without passing group after group of teen-agers trying to hitch a ride there. The kids cause the shopping centers a lot of trouble; they race around and go in for shoplifting, vandalism, stopping escalators, jumping into fountains, and leaving beer cans in the parking lots.

The malls also attract strollers, even when the shops are closed. They draw old people, who sit on the benches and watch the world go by. Clubs hire busses and take the members off to a convenient mall for the day. "We'll get forty-six chartered busses a day in here," says Grace McFeely, promotion director of the Cherry Hill (N.J.) Mall. "They come from as far away as Virginia. When the visitors get off the bus, we hand them each a brochure that lists the stores in the mall and provide a map. They get lost anyway."

"We have women wander in at 4 P.M., claiming their children have gotten lost," a mall manager told me. "But many times we suspect that the kids were lost intentionally. Mom drops them off here and then goes to play bridge or she parks them in front of a store window with a TV set in it and moves off to do her shopping alone."

Meetings and weddings are held at shopping centers; mall concerts and shows are held in their "grand courts"; babies are christened in their fountains. (The pastor of the Church on the Mall in Plymouth Meeting, Pa. boasts that he has the "largest baptismal font in the world"—24,000 gallons.)

Suburban movie theatres and restaurants are now to be found in shopping centers, and their parking lots are the sites of kite-flying contests and driving lessons. The malls compete for their customers with flowers and exotic birds and frequent promotions and exhibits. And no matter how much the malls do for the people, the people want more. One gets the impression that the public looks to the mall, not to local government, for solutions to community problems.

Teen-age disruption dropped considerably at the Baltimore Mall when its owner, the Rouse Co.—not the community—built a $30,000 youth center which offered a juke box, soda machine, billiard table and other equipment. Customers make demands on shopping centers

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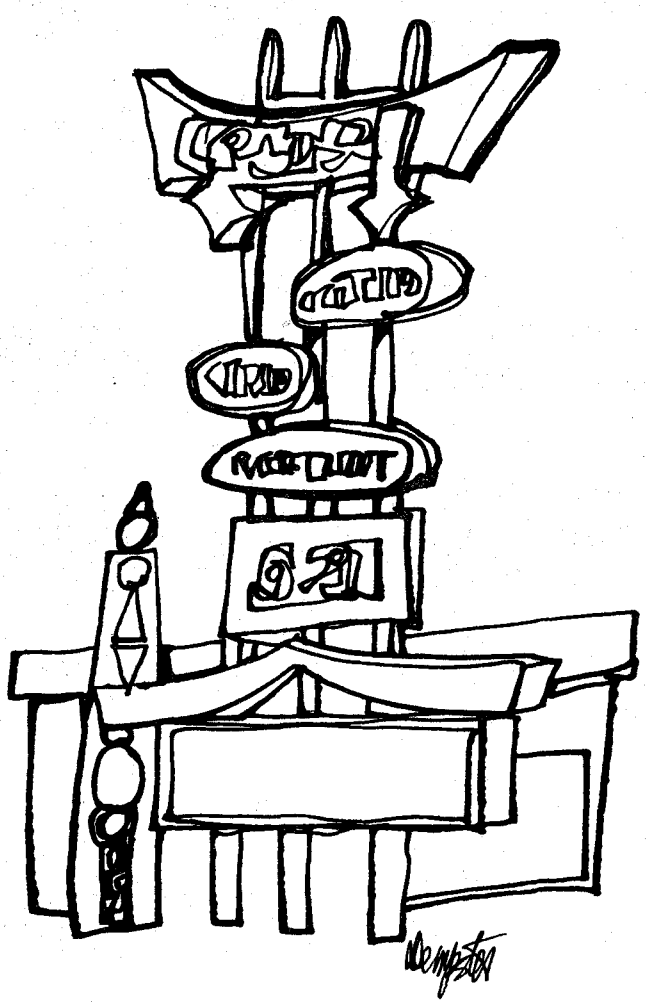
that they would not ask of Main Street's merchants, because they know that the center is a protected enclave, controlling all the property it occupies.

But that control is not universally seen as a boon. There arises, for example, the matter of free speech. Shopping center developers differ on the use of the malls as a public forum. Edwin Daniels of the Rouse Co. argued at an International Council of Shopping Centers convention last year that a center has an obligation to provide a forum for the community because it makes a substantial profit from the residents.

However, most developers are not so disposed. The rule of thumb seems to be that when an event—say, a campaign speech by a Presidential candidate—would attract to the mall people who might thereafter stay to shop, that's good. But when an event—say a drive to gather signatures on a petition—might distract shoppers from the business of buying, that's bad. Roger Reith, an attorney for the Homart Corp. of Chicago, argued at the same ICSC convention that tenants' interests take precedence over free speech. "Why," he asked, "should the maternity shop pay increased common area charges to pick up leaflets distributed by a zero population growth group?"

In 1968, the Supreme Court was asked to consider the free speech issue in a case involving union pickets who were banned from the storefronts at the Logan Valley



Shopping Center near Altoona, Pa. The Court held that the mall of the shopping center was the "functional equivalent" of a sidewalk in a public business district. Since peaceful picketing and leaflet distribution on "streets, sidewalks, parks and other similar public places are . . . historically associated with First Amendment rights," no distinction should be made for the same kind of thoroughfare, even though it is privately owned.

The Logan Valley decision relied heavily on the 1946 case of *Marsh* v. *Alabama*. The entire town of Chicasaw, Ala. was owned by the Gulf Shipbuilding Corp., which ordered a Jehovah's Witness arrested for trespassing on private property. The Court held then that when private property rights had to be balanced against First Amendment rights, "the latter occupy a preferred position." It argued that "the more an owner, for his advantage, opens up his property for use by the public, the more do his rights become circumscribed by the statutory and constitutional rights of those who use it."

But last June the Burger Court did an about-face on that position. In a 5-to-4 decision (the Nixon four plus Byron White were the majority), the Court decided that the Lloyd Shopping Center of Portland, Ore. was justified in prohibiting the distribution of anti-war leaflets on its property.

The majority opinion, written by Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., said that it would be an "unwarranted infringement of property rights to require them to yield to the exercise of the First Amendment under circumstances where adequate alternative avenues of communication exist." In other words, Powell felt the peace group could hand out its leaflets elsewhere.

Powell noted a distinction between the Logan Valley case and the Lloyd Center case: the right of access to the Logan Valley Mall, he said, was limited to a union having a specific grievance with the store owners, or to a group directing its complaint toward the center itself.

Justice Thurgood Marshall, who had written the 1968 majority opinion, also wrote the 1972 minority dissent. Suburbanites increasingly confine their activities to shopping centers, he argued, and if speech is to reach these people, it must reach them in Lloyd Center and like places. The Justice conceded that Lloyd Center had uniformly prohibited pamphletting, but noted that the American Legion had been allowed to sell poppies and stage a parade on the mall.

Most malls require an application from any group wishing to conduct an activity on the mall; the management may then decide to provide a section or a booth to which that activity must be confined. The implication is clear for backers of "unpopular" causes.

Another result of close private control of shopping centers is its effect on the small, independent merchant and on the kind of competition and innovation he represents. It is not easy to find a small, independent store in a large shopping center—or even outside one in the suburbs. Bruce Jacobi, executive vice president of N.K. Winston Co., flatly predicts that the independent merchant will eventually disappear from the suburbs. He may be right: if suburbanites insist on shopping only at centers (and many do), then a store located anywhere

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else is not apt to survive. But the odds are poor that a struggling independent will be able to locate in a center.

First, center location is more expensive—particularly in an enclosed mall, where the merchants not only pay the costs of maintaining their own property but share the cost of the parking lot, the clean-up, the security, the decorations, the care of the foliage, etc., for the mall.

Further, most mall managements charge independent merchants higher rents—sometimes twice as much per square foot—as the chain stores pay. Managements prefer the chains because they advertise heavily and are thought to attract customers just by their names.

And last, mall managements control the "mix" of merchants on their property, deciding which applicants are worth admitting. And they grant exclusive leases to certain tenants. For instance, a mall wishing to sign up a florist shop as a tenant can guarantee the prospect that no other florist shop will be allowed on the mall and that no community fund-raising group will be permitted to sell flowers there. It's true that Main Street never guaranteed a store to every would-be merchant; still, the diversity of store ownership there has made the renting of space more competitive.

Recently, the Federal Trade Commission's Bureau of Competition has been studying the shopping center scene. One common practice that has the FTC looking up anti-trust laws is the granting to a favored tenant—usually a large department store—the right to veto prospective smaller tenants. Sometimes the big store can also prevent another retailer in the center from carrying a specified line of goods. Developers say that major tenants will not come into a regional center unless they get that kind of veto power, but the obvious competitive advantage it gives the big guy has the FTC upset. In a test case, it brought restraint of trade charges against three department stores at a regional shopping center at Tyson's Corner, Va. The matter is still at the hearing stage.

Al Sussman, executive vice president of the ICSC, says that one outcome of FTC pressure is that the department stores are beginning to develop their own shopping centers. He says the FTC doesn't object when the developer determines the "mix"; i.e., picks which stores will be in the centers. It becomes upset, he says, only when the developer lets a tenant do the "mixing."

The FTC is also investigating a common shopping center leasing arrangement in which the developer sets minimum pricing requirements for his tenants. The purpose is to ban "discount" operations, many developers feeling that even one discount store could be ruinous for all the nondiscount tenants—and thus for the center itself.

Proponents of shopping centers say that the centralized ownership offers consumers a more convenient mix of stores and many more activities than the Main Street merchants ever provided. They point out that the diversity of ownership has actually made it hard for many small town shopping areas to succeed at urban renewal. A major building may be part of an estate whose owners are scattered far and wide. Critics of shopping centers says that they impede competition, discourage newcomers, limit free speech and assume, even if by default, civic responsibilities that should belong to local government.

It would be unfair to say that shopping centers have overtones of "Big Brother"—but "Big Uncle" is probably close to the truth. □

LETTERS *(Continued from page 610)*

do, I believe that you can only serve to cheapen Harrington's own political disagreements with and criticisms of the SP-DSF majority. That is, unless he dissociates himself from your editorial. Otherwise, it is certain that his break with the SP-DSF leadership which *The Nation* hails as "the beginning of a new phase in Left-labor-radical politics" can only result in a return to the dismal days of the Henry Wallace movement, on one side, and an increase in the size of the George Wallace movement, on the other.

It might also be of interest to those who consider accuracy in politics of any importance to understand that Michael Harrington's major reason for resigning his post as co-chairman of the SP-DSF during the 1972 Presidential campaign was over his difference concerning the *degree* of support to George McGovern. We stated a critical preference for McGovern over Nixon—meaning a preference for a Democratic Party victory over the Republican Party, and we emphasized the need to elect a liberal Congress.

What is particularly outrageous and inaccurate is the charge by you that "some of the 'most prestigious leaders' of the majority . . . look with enthusiasm on another four years of Nixon rule." This is an outright lie. Not one member or leader of the SP-DSF finds any satisfaction in seeing Nixon in office for four more years. It is precisely because we worked in 1968 to defeat Nixon and for the last four years against his re-election that many of our leaders found it so frustrating that George McGovern's candidacy would only lead to a Nixon victory. How this can be used as an excuse by *The Nation* to viciously attack the SP-DSF is incomprehensible as well as ridiculous.

(6) And finally, those who read Harrington's statement in *The Nation* may want to consider for themselves the SP-DSF positions on the 1972 elections, Vietnam and other domestic and international questions, which are available free if you write to the SP-DSF, 1182 Broadway, New York City 10001. *Joan Suall, National Secretary*

Replying to these complaints in order:

(1) *The Nation* did not charge that the Socialist Party-Democratic Socialist Federation received funds from George Meany. Miss Suall should reread what we wrote.

(2) We stand by the statement that the influence of the majority element in the Socialist Party has been "one of the prime reasons" why organized labor has supported cold-war policies.

As to the charge that some of the leaders of the majority element looked with enthusiasm on another four years of Nixon, we would refer Miss Suall to Mr. Harrington's letter, published in its entirety in our issue of Nov. 13.

(3) And if more publications like *The Nation* had consistently pointed out the dangers and fallacies implicit in "anti-Communist" demagoguery, American losses in lives and wealth in Vietnam might never have occurred.

(4) No doubt labor's support was a factor in maintaining Democratic control of the Congress; that was not the point of our comment. But any number of publications —not *The Nation* alone—have stated that labor's support would have been more effective if the labor movement had been united. As a result, in part, of Meany's "neutrality," the country now has a pro-Republican labor movement as well as a pro-Democratic labor movement, and Mr. Peter J. Brennan of the New York building trades is Secretary of Labor. (See comments by B. J. Widick, p. 614.) *The Editors*

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

To Lift 800 Million Out of Poverty

MAO AND CHINA: From Revolution to Revolution. *By Stanley Karnow. The Viking Press. 592 pp. $15.*

BERT COCHRAN
Mr. Cochran teaches at the New School for Social Research. He is the author of Adlai Stevenson: Patrician Among the Politicians *(Funk & Wagnalls), and a forthcoming book on the Truman Presidency.*

The Chinese Communists were fortunate in fighting their civil war before they took power, rather than afterward. They could thus, in contrast to Lenin's Bolsheviks, start economic rebuilding while still in full possession of a fund of popular good feeling. It was long believed that this was one of the important reasons for the more benign evolution of Chinese communism, the cohesion of the original leadership, the absence of bloody purges and convulsions in the manner of Stalin. All the more unexpected and bewildering was the outburst of Mao Tse-tung's Cultural Revolution in 1966 which, before it subsided some three years later, destroyed no less than two-thirds of the old Central Committee, initiated several lesser purges of the military, and led to a decided shift in the power configuration of the ruling hierarchy.

Stanley Karnow's book is an important contribution to this history because it is the first comprehensive account of a unique and little-understood insurrection. Although Karnow does not go beyond the essential materials that have been gathered by American and British Sinologists, he has systematically organized these materials into a detailed brief, and has succeeded in fitting the events of 1966-69 into the story of the evolution of Chinese communism. Unfortunately, his experience as a *Time*, *Life*, and *Washington Post* correspondent, and his years of rubbing shoulders with the "China watchers" in Hong Kong, have saddled him with a lopsided education. He has come out of a school whose graduates are adept at ferreting out the raw stuff of reportage, but lack a conceptual outlook that would tell them around which axis to wind their data.

According to Karnow, the conflicts in the Communist leadership which led up to the Cultural Revolution represented a line-up of romantics versus realists. Liu Shao-chi and his party *apparatchiks* understood that a modern state must depend on technical specialization, administrative expertise, sound routine. Mao and his supporters, obsessed with ideology, favored mass enthusiasm and moral exhortation. It was a clash, he insists repeatedly, "between the proponents of professionalism and the advocates of ideological purity." This is a bowdlerization of a complex story of changing conflicts and shifting alliances. Karnow is like an alert line inspector who has been provided with a too-crude gauge out of the wrong toolbox. For example, the conflict in 1955 over collectivization policy was over tempo. Mao wanted to collectivize rapidly not because he had a "guerrilla complex," or was indifferent to mechanization, but because he feared that if the process were prolonged, a strong capitalist class would get formed in the countryside which would undermine collectivization and might challenge the Communist state. His gamble paid off. Collectivization, pushed through with lightning rapidity, never encountered the massed resistance that bedeviled Stalin's efforts in the same direction.

By 1958, with the conclusion of the first Five Year Plan, along with prodigies of industrial growth came a proliferating bureaucracy and a widening gulf between the favored strata and the mass of the people. The Chinese had imported Stalin's social tensions together with his model of planning. Again there was a conflict among the leaders about what to do next, and again it was a conflict over ways and means of solving baffling problems that had never been solved before—not, as Karnow would have it, a conflict between technocracy and ideology. This time, Mao's solution, "The Great Leap Forward," proved to be a disaster. It set the economy back half a decade, and, for the party bureaucrats, it punctured Mao's carefully cultivated reputation for infallibility. The adventuristic industrial goals were curtailed sharply, private plots were reintroduced in the agricultural communes, and Mao was forced to resign as Chairman of the Republic. Later he revealed that the main party officials had stopped consulting him. "They treated me with the respect they would have shown their dead father at his own funeral."

As Mao sulked in his tent, he became increasingly worried about the path that Chinese communism was taking, particularly in view of the inroads made by Khrushchev's "goulash communism" in Russia. It seemed to him that if spontaneous capitalist tendencies and bourgeois attitudes were left undisturbed, it would only be a matter of time before China returned to the capitalist path. Now this is a problem —the degeneration of a revolution, the re-emergence of a privileged class— that does not perturb Karnow. It is out of his field of interest, since he thinks he knows what human nature is, and the only way in which states can conduct their affairs. Other observers have suggested that Mao's crafty scheme to purify China was only an ideological smoke screen behind which to organize a personal coup in order to regain undisputed mastery of the party. There is no enigma here. When a leader is both the creator and the prisoner of a personal cult of Oriental dimensions, it is idle to try to separate his egotistical and his programmatic motives. The two elements are fused, so that both the exalted leader and his policy represent one indispensable, indivisible instrument of the nation's salvation.

Employing the cult of his personality as both sword and shield, and depending on the support or at least the benevolent neutrality of the military, Mao blackjacked a deeply divided Communist Party leadership into authorizing a purification campaign led by an *ad hoc* Cultural Revolution committee manned by his faithful adherents. What followed looked more like the Taiping Rebellion than a Marxist-Leninist eruption: schools were closed; student youth mobilized into Red Guards; formations armed with clubs and knives, and later, after they had seized arms caches, with guns and even artillery, roamed the length and breadth of the country; university teachers and then party officials were denounced, dragged before kangaroo courts, forced into making self-abasing "confessions," and often removed from their posts. When the attack shifted its aim from helpless intellectuals to influential party func-

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tionaries, the latter, to shield themselves from the swelling purge, set up their own Red Guard units, as well as worker and peasant formations, similarly armed with the Little Red Book and shooting weapons, and who denounced and fought the other guards. The foundation Red Guards, in turn, were splitting into warring factions led by competing aspirants for place and influence. Soon, guards were fighting guards as stalwartly as they were opposing the party miscreants "taking the capitalist road." Since they all swore unquestioning, undying fealty to Mao, only the *cognoscenti* could distinguish one Red Guard group or faction from another—and they were not always sure. In the last stages, when there was danger that the economy would be irreparably damaged and the country plunged into chaos, the army was called upon to crack down on the Red Guard gangs. The much vaunted new revolutionary organizations heading all the provinces and supposedly dividing authority among old party officials, young militants and military officers, were dominated in reality by the military bureaucrats in alliance with many of the same officials who had either survived the purges or been restored to their old positions. Mao himself, characteristically shuffling off onto others the responsibility for the results of his own plunging, excoriated Red Guard leaders for "letting him down."

A number of propositions are evident from the pieced-together data: (*1*) The uprising was engineered, manipulated, and controlled by the Mao faction, even though it got out of hand on occasion and lead to a chaos of local mutinies, riots and power struggles. (*2*) The cult of the deified leader was pushed to such bizarre extremes that it boomeranged on its organizers. (*3*) It was an uprising that moved in a semantic fog of Orwellian apothegms. It had no discernible program beyond a vaporous rhetoric of the "proletarian line," and the practical aim of disgracing and driving from office those functionaries who had quarreled with Mao or proved insufficiently slavish to his will. (*4*) The only charges leveled against alleged enemies consisted either of generalized accusations of having taken the capitalist road, or of being imperialist spies, renegades and the like. The accused were arbitrarily selected, arbitrarily lumped together, never permitted to state their case. There was never any candid formulation or open debate of actual differences.

Not surprisingly, the proceedings revived memories of Stalin's *Yezhovschina*. The differences between the two, however, are profound. Stalin, concerned solely with perpetuating his autocratic system, ruled by crafty frame-up machinations and unrelieved terror. While Mao, too, does not lack guile, he is a historic figure of dedication and integrity. He has sought to inculcate right-thinking unanimity into a people that would stand in a quasi-mystical relationship with their prophet. His homiletic essays, closer in spirit to Buchman's Moral Rearmament than to traditional Marxism, were meant to

WELL, WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?

I took a nap one afternoon in Ohio
At the end of a pasture,
Just at the good moment when Pet our poor lovely
Lay moaning and gave birth to Marian my calf.

What was I going to do? All I could do
Was wake and stand there.
I don't know anything about the problem
Of beautiful women.
I was afraid to run two hundred yards
To call my mother
And ask her what to do
With a beautiful woman.
Besides, she wouldn't know either.

Two hours.
Two whole hours.
While Pet lay mumbling among the Grimes Golden apples
That fell from time to time.
I ate two or three, maybe.
What was I supposed to do there
But eat the apples while Marian's face
Peeked out slowly?

I ate the apples,
And when Marian was born
I helped her come out.
I had been in love with a lot of girls, but that was my first time
To clasp the woman beneath her chin
And whisper, Come out to me,
Come on, come on, and you can be Marian.

I led Marian out of her mother's belly
Down in the cold
Autumn thorns,
And there was a pile of horse manure
I couldn't evade, and so by God
I did not even try.
All I could do was fall
From time to time.
Marian's face was all right, speckled with rust
And more white than snow.
The one I was the more in love with
Was Pet, the exhausted.

I lay down beside her, she snuffled, she smelled like a Grimes Golden apple.
Then I carried Marian two hundred yards down the pasture.
She delicately sprayed the insides of her beginning body
All over my work shirt.

I don't know that I belonged
In that beautiful place. But
What are you going to do? Be kind? Kill?
Die?

James Wright

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serve as the sacred texts of a movement utilizing mass hysteria and mass pressure to burn out "bourgeois habits" and effect the required "proletarian" conversion. In imagining that a managed revolution, which substituted a leader cult for a program, and hysteria for discussion, could produce a new generation of authentic revolutionary militants to replace the old bureaucrats, he resembled those medieval ecclesiastics who thought to secure God's Word through deception and coercion.

Formally, Mao successfully crushed his opponents, and the leading committees elected at the party's Ninth Congress had sizable representation from among the activists of the Cultural Revolution. In actuality, the military representatives dominated these bodies, and the replacement of disgraced officials by budding bureaucrats or housebroken youth did not solve or even affect the fundamental problem of bureaucratism. By 1971 Mao's hand-picked successor, Lin Piao, and six others had been purged from the Politburo, including Ch'en Po-ta, the erstwhile head of the Central Cultural Revolutionary Group. Next, Lin Piao and three other generals on the Politburo died under mysterious circumstances. Apparently, the top leadership consists of an uneasy coalition from which the surviving figures of the Cultural Revolution (aside from Mao) have been excluded.

Today the Chinese press is clamoring for more production. Material incentives and economic inequalities are again accepted, and production teams within agricultural communes remain the basic units of accounting. On the other hand, recent visitors have reported an exemplary spirit of self-sacrifice and public dedication displayed by so many, great strides in bringing education and health services to the farthest rural areas, and grandiose efforts to eliminate economic disparities between town and country. As against those who attribute these accomplishments to the Cultural Revolution, Karnow believes that they are outgrowths of policies pursued earlier by Mao's adversaries—that we are seeing a return to former practices and projects. He may be right. Since decision making in China is conducted behind tightly sealed doors, it will be a while before adequate materials are available for an outsider to judge. In any case, it is probable that the history books will say that a superficially refurbished Communist hierarchy, after proclaiming Mao the winner, pushed aside his discredited retinue to resume along less demonic lines the struggle to lift 800 million people out of immemorial poverty. □

The Novel Looks at Itself—Again

CHIMERA. *By John Barth. Random House. 308 pp. $6.95.*

JERRY H. BRYANT

Mr. Bryant is the author of The Open Decision: The Contemporary American Novel and Its Intellectual Background *(Free Press). He is lecturing on American literature at the University of Copenhagen during this academic year.*

Chimera is a lecture on the nature of fiction, disguised as a kind of retelling of some very old stories. As a simulated fiction, this lecture is meant to be a metaphor of its subject. It's a brilliant tour de force by a well-seasoned writer, who has produced one excellent novel (*The Sot-Weed Factor*), one unreadable monster (*Giles Goat-Boy*), and two more conventional but impressive pieces of philosophical fiction (*The Floating Opera* and *End of the Road*). *Chimera* is supposed to be, I think, an exploration into the possibilities of a new kind of fiction. If it survives it will be because of the brightness of its glitter. But I think that once our eyes recover from the flash, we'll be disappointed with what's left.

Each of the three "tales" that make up this book illustrates the various literary problems of the fiction writer—point of view, truth, theme, pace, rhythm, unity. Each is about the act of creating a fiction; at the same time it purports to be a fiction itself. The first one is shorter than the second, which is shorter than the third. They are linked to one another by occasional references to characters, events and sentiments, and by their gradually increasing length. The "shape-shifter" Polyeidus (who is a repeat of Henry Burlingame in *The Sot-Weed Factor*), the narrator of the last and longest tale, is not only the tale teller but the principle of fiction itself, and hence able to take many forms. The ending of the book is not simply the ending of the book but of life in general, and of the lives of Polyeidus and Bellerophon (the subject of the story). As the book ends, Polyeidus is working on the ending, just as Barth is. Etc. It all fits together like Chinese boxes, each figure or form related to another by a common principle, and subject to being endlessly opened to reveal yet another form that is, lo, the reflection of its container.

The process of invention is the main preoccupation of these pieces. As in the theatre of the absurd, the reader is brought in on the trick. "This is the way we do it," someone says at front stage, and another hat pops out of a rabbit to teach us we really aren't in on it. We're surprised, charmed, pleased to laughter, and enormously impressed. We're looking at things as if from the bottom of a swimming pool, from inside the mind of a character we have long known only from the outside.

In the first tale, for example, we're told how *A Thousand and One Nights* came into being. The narrator isn't Scheherazade but her sister Dunyazade, who tells us how a Genie materializes from America, several centuries in the future, and on each of the 1,001 nights gives Scheherazade a tale to tell the emperor. The Genie is getting them from the volume open on his desk back in the States, so from his vantage point in the future he helps to write the stories he loves so well. Also, by means of his fictions he helps to create life, not only by saving Scheherazade from death each morning but by determining how her life is going to turn out. The Genie is himself a writer, naturally, who had suffered a writing block until he decided to go back to the "springs of narrative." Just as we think this is all there is to it, the scene and the center of consciousness shift. "Dooney" has been telling all this to her new husband, and a completely new situation is trundled out for our amusement, mirroring, of course, the first.

This is clever. More than that—ingenious; at the outside, inspired. Who ever thought, except perhaps the authors of *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead,* to look from the inside out of some old story? That Barth chooses to do so suggests his plight, which is mirrored in the plight of the Genie. Where does the contemporary writer go when the freshness has disappeared from the narrative tradition, when "artful fiction," as the Genie says, has dropped from favor and no one reads it any more but a few critics and some unwilling students? Where does he go when his own well runs dry? *Chimera* answers, back to the origins, in this case *The Arabian Nights* and the Greek myths (the other two tales are about Perseus and Bellerophon). But what is there in these narratives that might attract a modern audience? Actually, that's not Barth's question. It's rather, what can I inject into the earlier narratives that will help me get my point across?

The answer is right there on the in-

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side. The Genie is 40, Perseus is 40, Bellerophon is 40, Jerome Bray (a sort of character) is 40, J.B. (the "editor" of *Giles Goat-Boy*) is 40. And so, one assumes, is Barth 40—at least symbolically. That is the age when men learn they're not heroes and that all things decay and then die (perhaps even narrative themes and techniques). And Barth's characters do learn that and accept it and win thereby a "treasure." There is the key to writing more and better fiction—not to want to be a mythic hero or preserve the unpreservable.

Or is it the realization that fiction outlives most things? That not only the characters but the writers do too, since the writers are the characters? Perseus, not what he used to be when he first wooed and won Andromeda, a little tired in the body and mellowed in his ambitions, discovers his mortality. But in the story of that discovery lies immortality—a neat paradox. So he's content "to have become, like the noted music of our tongue, these silent visible signs; to *be* the tale I tell to those with eyes to see and understanding to interpret; to raise you up forever and know that our story will never be cut off, but nightly rehearsed as long as men and women read the stars. . . ." Another nice mirror, for Perseus and Andromeda and the rest were made into constellations by Medusa: ergo, fiction equals stars—sort of.

If I seem flippant it's because Barth's power as a writer forces me to aspire to his own well-controlled ironic tone. But his tone sends out waves of concern for his "characters," for people, for his undertaking. What is fiction for Barth? What "good" is *Chimera,* for example? Dunyazade's Genie hopes before he dies simply to add "some artful trinket or two, however small, to the general treasury of civilized delights . . . [and to] the treasury of art, which if it could not redeem the barbarities of history or spare us the horrors of living and dying, at least sustained, refreshed, expanded, ennobled, and enriched our spirits along the painful way." *Chimera* is full of trinkets, some of them solid gold. Proteus asks Bellerophon to kill Perseus: "The bastard's scheduled to kill me and Acrisius both! With his goddamned Gorgon's-head! Father and maternal grandfather, right? You think I want to be a frigging statue?" Anteia begs Bellerophon, a demigod, to impregnate her with a demigod. She'll even settle for a "semigoddamneddemigod." And there are the students with their chemical spray guns out to "defoliate the Ivy League."

Barth isn't without his irritating affectations. Echoes of *Giles Goat-Boy,* with its strange mixture of neologisms and antiquity, resound in *Chimera.* People never simply go "toward" something; it's always "courtward" or "buildingward" or "seaward." One always draws "a-beam of." Young virgins are "bedded." Young heroes don't "hesitate," they are "hesitated" by something. At the same time, we smile with delight at the proverbs and epigrams: "Stories last longer than men, stones than stories, stars than stones."

For Barth, his trinkets add up to something more important than mere delight, in spite of the tone and the statements. What is the world like? he asks. And what has fiction to do with it? The world is like what we see, he answers. Fiction is the imaginative embodiment of it. We see that nothing is flawless, that leaves decay, love dies and so do we. While this in itself, when it happens to us, may not be so pretty, cast into fiction it can be beautiful, can transcend itself. All of Barth's novels have recounted the search of a man for "reality." At first he seeks it in the ideal, perhaps poetry or fiction. But life teaches him that it lies all about him, in that long disease itself.

Fiction, of course, doesn't deal with particular facts. But when it rises to the height of myth it is truer than facts. Myths, says Bellerophon, can be "so much realer and more important than particular men." The story his voice tells "isn't a lie, but something larger than fact . . . in a word, a myth." "Some fictions," says the Genie, "were so much more valuable than fact that in rare instances their beauty made them real." In such instances, fiction doesn't have to pass itself off as fact to be effective. The reader need not be fooled in order that his mind be changed or his senses modified.

But these points are made essentially through exposition, not fiction. Barth seems to be more set on making us understand intellectually than see emotionally. He uses a simulated fictional form to say something direct—not about the world but about fiction. His stories are about story telling, not about people. And one can be entertained only so long by a Chinese box, and can learn only so much from it. We get the idea from the first exercise. By the middle of the longest one, the "Bellerophoniad," we're likely to agree with Bellerophon's complaint to Polyeidus about his story—that "It's a beastly fiction, ill-proportioned, full of longueurs,

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

All of our fathers are old but lately

Lately I am beginning to see
More and more of them.

On streetcars, walking across bridges,
In threadbare suits on a cold day

Rubbing their hands together like ghosts

Puffs of sadness flicker over the grates,
Over the subways and windows of the basements

One by one they are beginning to come
Like Eskimos, out of the smokeless North

An army of ancient pushcarts
Gathering like smudge pots to warn us

With extreme politeness and all their belongings
How they left their grandfathers behind them in the snow

Which melts, my God, in the spring
The corpses poke up like thin sticks

In wheelchairs, on canes, crutches
Horned hands begging

Which cannot be avoided / which must
Our scrawny and tramp fears cry out

Like beggars gathering in the dust.

Patricia Goedicke

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lumps, lacunae, a kind of monstrous mixed metaphor." Worse, it begins to get tedious, like a lecture that has gone past the hour.

Barth is an excellent lecturer, at least in his writing. His dissertation on the uses of the Hudibrastic couplet in *The Sot-Weed Factor* and his parody of *Oedipus Rex* in *Giles Goat-Boy* are splendid displays of critical insight. But he seems to have been around colleges too long (he's now teaching at the State University of New York at Buffalo), where literary problems are part of the course content, legitimately. But the process of fiction, appropriate to the classroom, has no place as the subject of fiction. It makes a clever logical paradigm to conceive of the process as its own subject. But who cares, outside of, as the Genie says, a few critics and unwilling students? If no one is reading "artful fiction" any more, it might be because it has become an exclusive game. If, as the Genie says, students prefer music or pictures, it might be because those forms give their audience something direct and real, something to participate in. The trouble with *Chimera* is that it's only about itself.

People are still reading fiction. That it's too often second-rate only proves that few of our artful novelists are gratifying the thirst of a huge reading public for stories about itself—a thirst that is insatiable. I don't blame the public for preferring to read, say, *The Godfather*, with its egregious stereotypes, its shameful romanticizing of cruelty and violence, its sentimentalized emotions constructed according to the theory of stock response; at least the novel shows people engaged in exciting actions. *Chimera* is infinitely better written and displays an incomparably sharper intelligence. But who wants to read a novel that is ultimately concerned with nothing so much as the nature of the novel?

If the novel is dead, it's because intelligent writers like Barth, who could continue to re-create it, haven't found a new way to say something about the world but only a new way to say something about saying something about the world. Self-consciousness is the sign either of the beginning of a cultural stage or of its end. When it's the latter, it's decadent. I think *Chimera* is an end rather than a beginning. Even so, I've read endings that were a lot worse. □

Some Who Lived in Arcadia

POETS AND PEOPLE. *By Charles Norman. The Bobbs-Merrill Co. 320 pp. $10.*

PAUL ENGLE

Mr. Engle founded the Program in Creative Writing at the University of Iowa and is now director of its International Writing Program. He has published ten books of poetry.

To biographies of E. E. Cummings, Ezra Pound and Christopher Marlowe, Mr. Norman now adds recollections of his own life, especially in New York City. The book opens:

> I went to live in Greenwich Village in the summer of 1924. Washington Square was leafy and serene, and not unlike its description by Henry James in the novel of that name. There was sky instead of skyline, and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries still lingered in adjacent streets.

This tone of lyrical recollection colors the book, in spite of the occasional breathless phrase ("I was young, I was a poet, I was in Greenwich Village"). Norman distinguishes between autobiography and reminiscence, the latter being the form he has chosen, for its very formlessness. He also writes: "I have tried not to be a bore. If, in some places, readers find me unbearably conceited, in others they will see unmistakable signs of idiocy to fortify their self-esteem. It balances out."

The value, the interest and the human quality of the book reside less in the insights offered about Norman's own life than in the many memories of other writers whom he knew. One of the shrewdest remarks he quotes was made by that 5 ft. 4 in. ghost, Joe Gould, who haunted the Village for years, peering at it with disdain and an unquenchable thirst: "I once spent seven years in Philadelphia one Sunday afternoon." It probably would not be safe for Joe Gould to wander around the Village these days and nights, clutching the large notebooks in which he wrote *An Oral History of Our Time*, and reciting his political philosophy: "I believe in democracy. I believe everyone has the right to buy Joe Gould a drink." He also confessed, "I have delusions of grandeur; I believe myself to be Joe Gould." For the record of Greenwich Village in the 1920s, it is important to have the voice of this intelligent eccentric, out of New England and Harvard, prowling the streets, living on friends, saying, "The Goulds were the Goulds when the Lowells and Cabots were clam-diggers."

There is a lot of recall of that sort in *Poets and People*, and it will be a permanent part of the American literary scene. Norman speaks of Hart Crane writing a couplet a day, leaving the paper in the typewriter, and writing another couplet or stanza next day. He suggests that this "may explain the lack of transition everywhere evident in his work." I think a truer explanation lies in Crane's deliberate use of a sequence of concrete images, connected not by conventional transitional phrases but by their symbolized meanings, as in the manner of T. S. Eliot.

One of the book's more hilarious episodes concerns Crane while he was living one winter in the New York-Connecticut border country. Everyone bought snowshoes, but it never snowed. In frustration one night, Crane strapped on his snowshoes, and flopped up and down the dirt road, "uttering strange cries."

The book conveys a warm sense of the Village as a community of strong and gifted individuals, making one place but in sharply different ways. Norman's feel for that place is wholly right: "Directly across Greenwich from the apex of the triangle formed by the market, on the south corner of Christopher Street, stood Luke O'Connor's Columbian House, a saloon where John Masefield had worked as a handyman, and where Eugene O'Neill spent some of his leisure hours. I once talked with O'Connor's nephew, who told me that when he was a child Masefield had held him on his knee."

Norman's recollections of E. E. Cummings are vivid and honest. The author remarks that Cummings accused him of not liking people because he did not write prose. The publication of his life of Cummings—in prose—was at once followed, he admits, by a violent attack on it by Mrs. Cummings. And he has a touching story of the poet's passing a young lady on a country road on several days, and their greeting each other, "Good morning." Only later did Cummings learn that she was his own daughter by his first wife. Cummings once told Norman that they were lucky, for they had known New York when it was "enchanting." Who now lives in a place like that dark and cluttered Patchin Place apartment, in which Cummings used to remember his time in the French concentration camp when he looked up at the women's prison to the south? Is it not possible that the "Village" has disappeared forever?

This book has a small place in the big scene. Anecdotes do illuminate

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the writers one knows about but has not met. It is sad to find the story of buying *The Holy Grail and Other Poems* by Tennyson, for a nickel, in good condition and obviously not read. The flyleaf was stuck to the end paper. When it was loosened, an inscription was discovered: "To my dear wife. Alfred."

It must be noted that the most brilliant remarks are those by others than the author. Yet this recording of the verbal quality of a period is an honorable occupation. We are all wiser for having read that a woman commented, on seeing a pair of lovers walking down the street, "They were going along as though they were lying side by side." □

Beginning with the Thing Seen

THE WORLD VIEWED: Reflections on the Ontology of Film. *By Stanley Cavell. The Viking Press. 174 pp. $5.95.*

STEPHEN G. NICHOLS, Jr.
Mr. Nichols teaches comparative literature at Dartmouth College.

Once upon a time, going to the movies, like the passing of the seasons, simply marked a natural fact of life: Saturday afternoon Westerns from which, preadolescents, we would emerge to gallop across the plains of our neighborhood until supper time. Later, the movies were the venue of tentative handholding or, for the more experienced, sweaty and inconclusive clinches. Flicking out in college meant escape from booking, or an alternative for a dateless Saturday night. Still later, after consulting the monthly budget and making several humiliating phone calls to condescending teen-age baby sitters, the movies were a place to pretend you were still young lovers untrammeled by middle-income existence. We accepted unquestioningly the interweaving of movie fantasy and the fantasy-reality of our daily life. We were naive about our movies as the movies were often naive, but there was nothing naive about the importance these films had in creating and nourishing our image of ourselves and the world.

Stanley Cavell, who teaches aesthetics at Harvard, has written a book which gives a definition of film, yes, but which also explores the peculiarly American phenomenon of film as a definer of social consciousness, of middle-class mores which, until recently, was largely ignored as a subject of reflection. The first country in which film attained the dubious status of an industry, and the first country in which film claimed the universal attention of a mass audience, the United States was very slow to acknowledge the idea of film as an art form or as a potent social force. That we have lost this naive acceptance of film as an unnoticed but pervasive backdrop to our activities is attested not only by the existence of such a book as Cavell's, which exists in part to take stock of the changed attitude toward film (and even to mourn a bit the lost innocence that characterized our pre-New Wave attitudes toward movies), but also by the aggressively self-conscious nature of the films that have been released of late. In the universities, the walls of the classroom are pushed out to encompass the cinema as more and more courses devoted to or incorporating films are instituted.

Films that require the viewer to participate actively in their completion by supplying for himself the continuity and meaning of the narrative (a feature of early surrealist films like Cocteau's *Blood of a Poet*, but first apparent to the public at large in such New Wave films as Robbe-Grillet's *Last Year at Marienbad*) not infrequently encounter a certain resistance. It is as though the viewer, when asked to make the film *mean*, feels suddenly exposed, forced to assume a responsibility which he resents. Such requirements seem to deprive films of the magic they originally held.

Just what the nature of that magic is, and how it works on us, and how the change in our awareness of film has affected it, are a few of the things Cavell deals with in his book. They all fall within the domain of the nature of reality in film, and the nature of our experience of that reality—whence the subtitle, "Reflections on the Ontology of Film." We are accustomed to take the viewing of film for granted and to talk instead about the technicalities of film making. While serious film criticism cannot ignore such topics, all the technical explanation in the world will not explain what actually happens when we see a film, nor why audiences resist some great films or film makers (like Jean Renoir, for example).

Cavell does not take the viewing of film for granted. He talks first about the experience of film, that is film as consciousness, and then about the component parts of film responsible for that experience. *The World Viewed* is necessarily a subjective book; subjectivity is not inappropriate when dealing with film because movies, like dreams, are studied mostly through memory—a point Cavell makes. The way we remember or misremember a movie is determined by the reality of what that movie was for us. Hence movie criticism is a dialectic with past experience, our experience, and if we can discuss that experience with someone who has shared it, nonetheless we cannot carry on the discussion with film in hand, as it were, readily available to support or refute the points we want to make. We may have a copy of the film script, but a film script is devoid of the resonance that informed the film we saw.

So when Cavell says that "my business is to think out the causes of my consciousness of films," he is making a statement of the methodology underlying his book. Any temptation to take this statement, as one reviewer recently did,

CRUST

Stale covers hide old wounds,
but the accident happened
a long time ago
to the head, heart, belly and knee;
defenses sit as bandages
with nothing to protect.

Let fire erupt, and passion.
All have scars, real, remembered,
as the earth's crust tells
of wild rivers that shaped a black canyon
and grand gorges testify to its past. Proud,
the earth reveals its scars.

Burst, shake, move.
Let tears run as rivers once ran
hot and swift on yielding earth.

Doris Staal

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as a confession of impressionism or amateurism must give way before Cavell's masterful exposition of his basic question: "What is film?" Building upon the observations of Erwin Panofsky and André Bazin that the "medium of the movies is physical reality as such," Cavell points out that what this means is that movies are photographed reality and, moreover, photographed reality which is "projected and gathered on a screen." The question now becomes, "What happens to reality when it is projected and screened?"—a formulation permitting Cavell to move in two related directions: into the technicalities of film, on the one hand, and out to the nature, history and future of film's relationship to the viewer on the other.

Beginning with the thing seen, the photographic image, Cavell asks: What is a photograph and what is its relationship to the thing represented and to the viewer? Without reproducing his closely reasoned arguments, let us say simply that he asserts that photography satisfies the desire to reproduce the world in its own terms, by manufacturing (as opposed to preparing by hand, as in art) an image of the world. It is an image of the world present to us without our being present to it; that is, we can see it without being in it or part of it. That the image is realism in its purest form is guaranteed, Cavell asserts, by the fact that the camera, a mechanism, reproduces it automatically. The quality of the reality is pastness, because "a world I know and see, but to which I am nevertheless not present . . . is a world past," a fact, incidentally, which helps to explain why some of the most successful American films have been those which re-created, either nostalgically or critically, past eras.

At the same time, we know that an object photographed extends in reality beyond the frame of the photograph. The presence of the rest of the world is implied in a photographic image, just as its rejection, the fact of its not being photographed, is explicit. Thus the camera may be used to edit the nature of the world viewed, a fact often used by Hollywood to create a world carefully sanitized of the disagreeable sights and sounds of our imperfect society, the world of Bing Crosby and Gene Kelly, *The Philadelphia Story, Sabrina, The Sound of Music*. It also explains our sharp reaction to films which seek to arouse our sagging social consciousness by focusing too candidly on the sordidness of the world. We know that the camera, by focusing on one part of the world, is holding the rest at bay.

Just as in a photograph reality is present to me while I am absent to it, so Cavell argues that my relationship to the movie screen is one of absence: automatism means that I can view the world on the screen without being part of it, without responsibility for it. He sees this fact as the profound attraction of cinema for a modern audience which seeks to escape the burdens of the world; to be in the world without being *of* it; to be anonymous, invisible, powerless—such are the anti-Faustian desires of modern audiences. Cinema provides the opportunity for us to realize the world magically, without our having to do a thing. "The idea of and wish for the world re-created in its own image was satisfied *at last* by cinema. Bazin calls this the myth of total cinema. . . . What is cinema's way of satisfying the myth? Automatically, we said. But what does that mean—mean mythically, as it were? It means satisfying it without *my* having to do anything, satisfying it *by* wishing. In a word, magically. I have found myself asking: How could film be art, since all the major arts arise in some way out of religion? Now I can answer: Because movies arise out of magic; from *below* the world."

From this interpretation of our ontological relationship to movies arise at least two important ideas that go far to explain the nature of films and film attitudes in the United States. The first has to do with the universal appeal of films, the second with the kind of movies that have been and can be popular.

Cavell points out that, unlike any other art form, movies are *generally* important: "The movie seems naturally to exist in a state in which its highest and most ordinary instances attract the same audiences (anyway until recently)." The great moments in great films and the ordinary moments in ordinary films, or even the great moments in typical films, all can be appreciated by a public whose taste in music, art or literature is as disparate as its abilities to understand the other arts. "But rich and poor, those who care about no [other] art and those who live on the promise of art, those whose pride is education and those whose pride is power or practicality—all care about movies, await them, respond to them, remember them, talk about them, hate some of them, are grateful for some of them."

This has been possible, of course, because certain film forms discover the fundamental conditions of automatism better than others. Traditionally, American films, with their emphasis on character types and genres (all of which are extensively discussed by Cavell) have cultivated and reinforced these conditions. But precisely because films must reproduce a world that corresponds to our image of it, to what we can believe, they cannot perpetually reproduce a naive world. In a world whose reality is one of fear and terror, movies help share the burden, discover the self and prevent it from being driven further into its own despair. "Hence movies seem more natural than reality. Not because they are escapes into fantasy, but because they are reliefs from private fantasy and its responsibilities."

Though it might seem that automatism confirms the notion of bourgeois film as an agent reinforcing bad faith in our posture toward the world—an accusation leveled by such increasingly politicized directors as Jean-Luc Godard—Cavell really offers a healthy counter-argument to such ideas, one based on the tradition and condition of the nature of film. For bad faith relies upon our willingness to be deceived, and Cavell shows that films can only satisfy our wish for realistic revelation of the world if we are willing "to let the world as such appear. According to Heidegger this means that we must be willing for anxiety . . . to manifest itself; and it is through that willingness that the possibility of one's own existence begins or ends. To satisfy the wish to act without performing, to let our actions go out of our hands, we must be willing to allow the self to exhibit itself without the self's intervention."

These are serious claims for film, but claims justified by Cavell's demonstration that, whether we know it or not, films have been and will continue to be a serious part of our lives. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

One must possess either a high degree of sophistication or be an extraordinarily simple, earthy person to arrive at wisdom. What is best in *The Mother of Us All*—written and first produced in 1947—is a simplicity on the way to wisdom. It is transparent in Virgil Thomson's music. The same is true of Gertrude Stein's book (Guggenheim Museum Theatre). Both these ultra-sophisticates are homebodies under their cosmopolitan skins.

Thomson's score is finely wrought in a manner one expects from an apt student of French (Nadia Boulanger) schooling, but the Southern Baptist, Kansas City boy comes through, nice

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and proper. His twinkle is companionable and reassuring.

And I suspect a Jewish mama in Gertrude Stein. There is something of 19th-century American decorum on the surface, added to tricky graces absorbed through contact with Europe, but underneath all there remains the gossip, the shrewd humor, the blunt common sense, the essential robustness of a Molly Berg. The sentimentality has been pasteurized and become discreet sentiment; the forthright assertiveness has been modified by an acquired seemliness.

One would have to study the Stein libretto with script in hand to perceive all its implications and little secrets. As one hears the words with the music, they recede from close inspection, they become all song, their content an atmosphere more than a substance. Still, one remembers certain lines, as for example, the ones which say that men reject woman suffrage—the story revolves around Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906), a pioneer in the movement—because men are afraid, and that when women win the vote they too will be afraid. There are many special connotations in the text, but only reading or repeated hearing will reveal them all. In any case, the total effect is always delightfully soothing, like the sight of a prettily tinted doily on a handsomely polished home dining-room table.

The performance at the Guggenheim under Thomson's supervision is neat, crisp and clean. The entire cast of singing actors is perfectly attuned to the occasion in voice and hearing.

The Contrast, with music by Don Pippin, lyrics by Steve Brown, is an adaptation by Anthony Stimac of Royall Tyler's play; it exemplifies another sort, an entirely innocent sort, of simplicity. The Tyler play, the first American comedy, was written and first produced in 1787. It was a smash hit at the time, with productions in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, Alexandria and Charleston. Between New York in 1787 and Philadelphia in 1796 it achieved a record run of twenty performances. It will do much better than that now at the Eastside Playhouse, 334 E. 74 St.

The contrast named in the title is that between the veneer of sophistication characteristic of well-heeled New Yorkers in the late 18th century, who still aped London gentility, and the plainness of the homespun Yankees. Tyler, a veteran of the Revolution and in 1803 appointed Chief Justice of the state of Vermont, favored the dyed-in-the-wool Americans.

In the prologue of the original play a gentleman addressing the audience, according to the custom of that day, declares, "If candour pleases, we are truly blest." This gracious introduction might also serve as the clue to the evening in the present instance. Stimac's adaptation is very good. It retains the line of the original and thus preserves its spirit. In the play such an admonition as, "Let us follow *the path of rectitude*, and of this we may be assured, that if we are not happy we shall at least deserve to be so" might perhaps pass unnoticed except for its period quaintness, but in the musical adaptation it somehow becomes hilarious.

As director, Stimac camps the text with considerable aplomb: much of the by-play is fresh, its mirth pleasurably primitive and at the end extravagantly gay. Some may not cotton to its fun but people sufficiently "blest" not to have lost the child in themselves will have a good time. (A weighty burgher who sat in front of me never cracked a smile, which only enhanced my amusement.) The music and lyrics are little more than props, but the sprightly and eminently likable cast compensates for the brief patches of inadequacy. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

The large exhibition, "Claes Oldenburg: Object Into Monument," originated by the Pasadena Art Museum, is at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (until December 27), which is as close as the show will come to New York. It is devoted to the proposals for public art that began to interest Oldenburg in 1965. Through the 1960s he worked systematically on various spatial themes associated with objects. In 1960 he called an exhibition "The Street"; in 1961 he occupied and showed his art in a store, called the Ray Gun Manufacturing Company, and in 1963 he turned to the Home, with the well-known "Bedroom Ensemble" in black-and-white vinyl and built-in distortions of perspective. The theme of the proposals for monuments is cities, the City, with motifs derived from local cues. The horse-shoe shape of Ellis Island, girls' knees in early mini-skirted London, Knäckebröd in Stockholm, Mayor Daley in Chicago, a giant lipstick obelisk to replace the Eros Fountain in London are typical starting points for a fantastic public art.

The forms in Oldenburg's proposals are always known objects raised to colossal size. Among the first were a vacuum cleaner for the Battery, a baked potato

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for the Grand Army Plaza, a shrimp for Ellis Island, a teddy bear for the north end of Central Park. In the present exhibition these proposals are presented graphically, as free impressions of the gargantuan objects *in situ*. The drawings are very sketchy and drawn in a way to evoke the reality of objects. His games with scale, distending objects, contracting spaces, depend on a convincing presentation of the space of the world. Oldenburg is a persuasive draftsman, in easy control of the graphic conventions for evoking solid masses and capacious voids, volumetric bulges and atmospheric recession. Brusque washes and soft grainy contours are characteristic of these drawings, put down to resemble the notation of things seen and grasped at once.

There are about ninety drawings and sixty sculptures in the show and many of the sculptures relate to themes securely established by the artist as his own. He is, as it were, testing, almost to destruction, electric plugs and fans, drum sets and cigarette butts, anthropomorphic fireplugs and a geometric mouse. Oldenburg makes an unquenchable parade of mobile objects. The drawings, however, separate their subjects to some extent from their earlier metamorphic sequences. It is not just that they are bigger, or would be if constructed, but that they are placed environmentally, symbolizing the function and lore of cities. In Europe, in 1965, Oldenburg visited a succession of cities, and back in New York moved into a vast new studio, a combination of events that produced in the artist, to quote his words, "an inclination to landscape representation." This point is important because much of his earlier work, for all its environmental spread, is object-based rather than open in the way one understands a landscape space to be.

Oldenburg's drawings belong to a special category of landscape art, the *capriccio*. Literally a *capriccio* is a caper, a prank; in art, especially with reference to the 18th century, the term means a fantastic view. Canaletto painted *capricci* in which the monuments of Venice and Rome mingle, re-sited by the artist. This type of conjunction can be compared to Oldenburg's juxtaposition of the Hancock Building in Chicago with Lorado Taft's "Statue of Death," with a scale change to bring the sculpture up to skyscraper dimensions. Guardi, too, changes the monuments of Venice, re-zoning them in desolate lagoons or altering the archways and balconies of familiar buildings. Fantastic views are the topographical equivalent of the Grotesque, a form of ornament that blended human and non-human images in flowing arabesques. Another version of this play with architecture can be seen in Piranesi's "Carceri" (Prisons), where he plays with vast spaces, and in his "Grotteschi," which depict conglomerates of antique fragments. Oldenburg's drawings are like Piranesi in Las Vegas: both artists have a flair for vast spaces and summarizing objects, which, of course, are modern, not classical, in Oldenburg's case.

The spirit of the *capriccio* was modernized in the paper architecture of three French neo-classicists: Etienne Louis Boullée, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Jean-Jacques Lequeu (seen most recently in the exhibition "Visionary Architects" at the Metropolitan in 1968, originated by the University of St. Thomas, Houston). Boullée's funerary monument in the form of sunken architecture can be compared to Oldenburg's "Underground Memorial and Tomb for President John F. Kennedy"; Ledoux's house for the directors of the Loue Irrigation System, which is like the section of a giant pipe with water pouring out of it, is definitely compatible with Oldenburg's associational monuments, as is Lequeu's gunpowder factory which has a Gothic façade decorated with literal cannon balls.

There seems no reason to think this connection is not known to the artist. The catalogue of "Object Into Monument" consists mainly of the artist's commentary and includes numerous witty and soundly based art historical observations. Referring to a projected sculpture of paste being ejected from a stepped-on tube, for example, Oldenburg compares the jet to "the upreaching hand as culmination of a thrusting form" as in "some version of 'Europa and the Bull'" (surely Titian's). And of a fireplug Oldenburg notes resemblances both to "Brancusi's 'Torso of a Boy'" and to "the widely separated breasts of Michelangelo's 'Night and Day' [*sic*]." One more example, this time concerning the proposed Mayor Daley monument: "I was thinking of giant toppled Mexican heads or Easter Island, all the fallen heads of archaeology, and of Brancusi's 'egg' (headlight)." It is part of Oldenburg's brilliance that copious allusions to art combine so fluently with his inventory of common modern objects. In his *Notes in Hand* (Dutton, $6.95) he mentions "a plan to redo the 'Sleeping Muse' as a soft sculpture in the form of a teardrop type automatic headlight." The highway culture of the United States, in which whole buildings serve as signs, like the Leaning Tower of Pizza in New Jersey or the Brown Derby in Los Angeles, is close to Oldenburg's giantism and to the vernacular bite of his imagery. □

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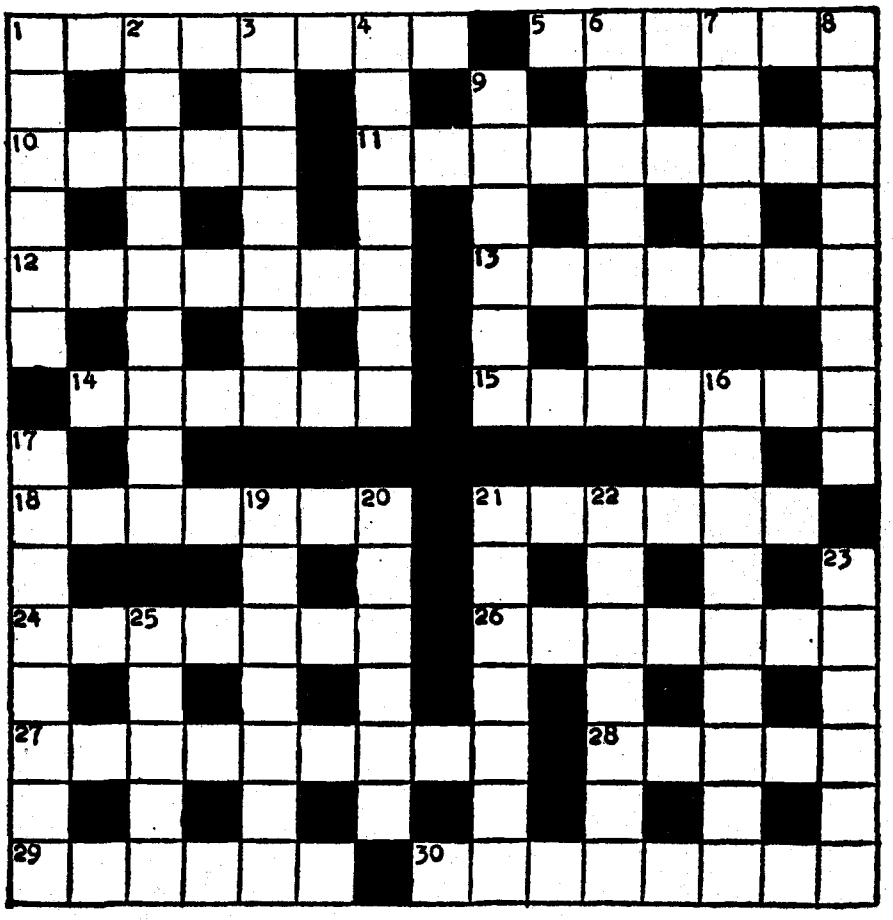
Crossword Puzzle No. 1468

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The effect of it could be flatter. (8)
5, 10, 19 down and 28 across Good advice to the middle-distance golfer after an unusually brilliant stroke. (6,5,3,4,2,3)
11 Symbolically equivalent to Nb. (9)
12 Became confused about the capital of Russia, which shows a certain amount of affection. (7)
13 See 3 down
14 Swaps means of livelihood. (6)
15 One with the will to be so? (7)
18 Strived to hold a session inside, when called on. (7)
21 Makes fun of very forcefully, when little Mr. Chaplin is around. (6)
24 Beaten? Beat it! (7)
26 Evidently lacking a rather large number in the engine assembly. (7)
27 Descriptive of the time 5, 10, etc., might be applicable. (9)
29 Such a knight was not necessarily deviant. (6)
30 Evidently gets around how Hannibal's elephants must have traveled. (2-6)

DOWN

1 Bossy at the head of the procession, as monks used to be? (6)
2 Rather unsympathetic term for those who might get to sing repeatedly, with sufficient capital. (9)
3 and 13 across Reads well, and is disturbed by part of the Caribbean scene. (7,7)
4 Key words didn't imply their glare was on the left side. (7)
6 They should be hot stories about pa's associate! (7)
7 Classical revolver? (5)
8 He amends a version that might be tangled up. (8)
9 You might find one in the factory in charge. (6)
16 Gives one a start by graft, fish being rather fishy. (8)
17 The obvious person to give coloration to music. (8)
19 See 5 across
20 A rude outburst, about to make what seldom leads directly to the point. (6)
21 Row caused by Steinbeck? (One might find a put-up job here.) (7)
22 Such a word never occurs in the song of this title. (7)
23 A stage of chalcedony formations. (6)
25 One who records a gradual decrease in light, perhaps. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1467

ACROSS: 1 Fatted calf; 6 Chap; 10 and 14 Natural selection; 11 Rainbow; 12 and 27 Scantier; 13 Benefactor; 16 Thereof; 17 Potters; 20 Cuts out; 22 Overthrown; 23 Otto; 25 Unblock; 26 Inhuman; 28 Especially. DOWN: 1 Finished product; 2 Tetrads; 3 Ecru; 4 Collect; 5 Largest; 7 Habitue; 8 Power of attorney; 9 Filaments; 18 Tremble; 19 Strikes; 20 Cowhide; 21 Optimal; 24 Thai.

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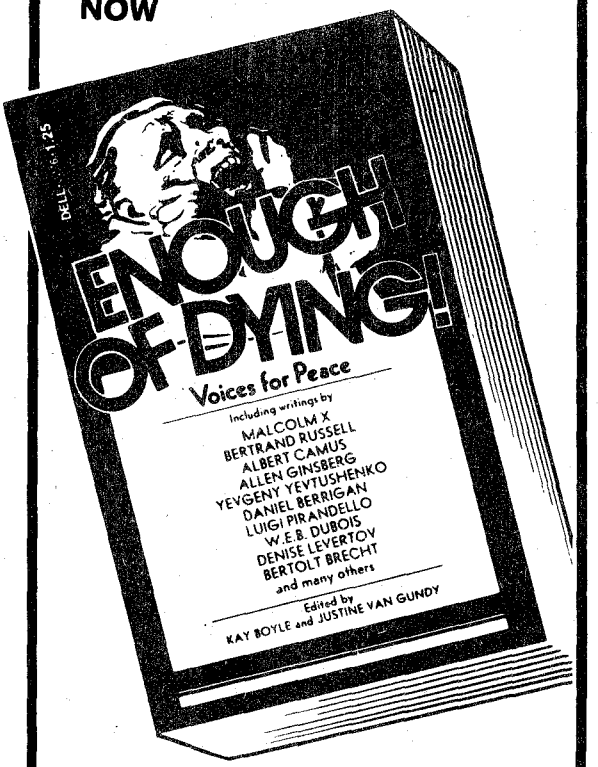

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